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DANTE ALIGHIERI

LA DIVINA COMMEDIA

EDITED AND ANNOTATED

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PREFACE

This work, the first annotated edition of the Italian text of the *Divine Comedy* published in America, is intended primarily for the general literary public, though adapted also to academic use. I have aimed to make it so complete that readers will need, for the comprehension of the poem, no other book save their dictionary; but to those (may they be many!) who may be led to push their inquiry further, a great abundance of bibliographical suggestion has been offered. Remembering how often the *Commedia* is read and enjoyed by persons whose Italian equipment is scanty, I have explained in the notes many words and forms that present no difficulty to the experienced student. On the other hand, I have endeavored, by discarding a vast accumulation of interesting but unnecessary erudition, so to curtail the annotation that the reader's attention shall not be constantly distracted from the text. This alleviation has been facilitated by the relegation of all lengthy discussions and involved explanations to the arguments that precede the several cantos. In my interpretation I have tried to give the 'allegorical and true meaning,' as Dante calls it, the place it deserves, but seldom receives, beside the literal. The text here printed is based on the latest edition of Moore's Oxford Dante; I have, however, not neglected the recent investigations of other scholars. The punctuation has been made to conform, as far as possible, to modern English standards. I am under obligations to all the authorities cited in the following pages. For many notes I owe a particular debt to Torraca's edition and to Norton's translation of the poem. It gives me pleasure to acknowledge also the special benefit I have derived from the works of Moore, Toynbee, Gardner, Del Lungo, Novati, D' Ovidio, Zingarelli, Flamini, and Vossler.

C. H. Grandgent.

Cambridge, October 1, 1908.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

N. B.—Whenever Dante's minor works are cited, the references are to the Oxford Dante, *Tutte le opere di Dante Alighieri*, edited by Dr. E. Moore, 3d ed., 1904.

References to the Bible are printed in lower case Roman type.

Acts: The Acts of the Apostles.
Æn.: Virgil's *Æneid*.
ARIST.: Aristotle.
Bull.: Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana, publ. in Florence, Nuova Serie.
CASINI: *La Divina Commedia*, ed. by T. Casini, 4th ed., 1899.
Cons.: Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*.
Conv.: Dante's *Convivio*.
Cor.: The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians.
De Cons. Phil.: see *Cons.*
Deut.: Deuteronomy.
D' OVIDIO: F. D' Ovidio, *Studii sulla Divina Commedia*, 1901.
D' OVIDIO[2]: F. D' Ovidio, *Il Purgatorio e il suo preludio*, 1906.
D' OVIDIO[3]: F. D' Ovidio, *Nuovi Studii danteschi*, 1907.
Eccles.: Ecclesiastes.
Ecclus.: Ecclesiasticus.
Exod.: Exodus.
FLAM.: F. Flamini, *I significati reconditi della Divina Commedia e il suo fine supremo*, 3 vols., 1903–.
Gen.: Genesis.
Giorn. dant.: Giornale dantesco, publ. in Florence.
Giorn. stor.: Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana, publ. quarterly in Turin.
Inf.: Dante's *Inferno*.
Jer.: Jeremiah.
Levit.: Leviticus.
Macc.: Maccabees.
Mat.: The Gospel according to St. Matthew.
Met.: Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.
Mon.: Dante's *De Monarchia*.
MOORE: E. Moore, *Studies in Dante*, 3 vols., 1896–1903.
NOVATI: F. Novati, *Freschi e Minii del Dugento*, 1908.
Par.: Dante's *Paradiso*.
Phars.: Lucan's *Pharsalia*.
Phil.: The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Philippians.
Pr.: Proverbs.
Ps.: Psalms.
Purg.: Dante's *Purgatorio*.
Rev.: The Revelation of St. John the Divine.
Rom.: Romania, publ. quarterly in Paris.
SCART.: *La Divina Commedia*, ed. by G. A. Scartazzini, 5th ed., rev. by G. Vandelli, 1907.
Theb.: Statius's *Thebaid*.
TOR. *or* TORRACA: *La Divina Commedia*, ed. by F. Torraca, 1905.
TOYNBEE: P. Toynbee, *Dante Studies and Researches*, 1902.
V. N.: Dante's *Via Nuova*.
Vulg.: the Vulgate.
Vulg. El.: Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia*.
Wisdom: the Wisdom of Solomon.
ZINGARELLI: *La Vita di Dante in compendio con un' analisi della Divina Commedia*, 1905.

INTRODUCTION

The Florence in which Dante lived was virtually an independent municipality controlled by trades' unions. Intense local pride, multifarious energy and enterprise, zest for politics, and partisan rivalry kept the blood of her citizens hot. The town was rapidly coming to the front rank among European cities; in manufactures and commerce she was a leader; inrushing wealth and increasing magnificence made her a pleasant abode. And all these interests — self-government, business, luxurious living — had the charm of novelty. So it was with painting, which was undergoing transformation at the hands of Giotto, the successor of Cimabue; so with sculpture and architecture; so with literature in the vulgar tongue, first introduced into Tuscany in the generation preceding Dante. Yet all these innovations were developing, not in a traditionless new settlement, but in a very ancient community, the home of countless generations of civilization. This, no doubt, is the reason why all her creative activities, material and intellectual, naturally assumed an artistic form in which delicacy and sobriety are allied to a dominant sense of harmony. It was a fit place for the breeding of genius: the swiftly growing town was big enough to afford a field for all kinds of talent, and yet so little that all were neighbors and merit could scarcely go unrecognized. The public offices, too, were numerous and the terms of service short, so that many citizens had a direct share in the management of affairs. On the other hand, the community was rent by party strife. The middle class, with its accumulating wealth and strength, was hated by the old military aristocracy, largely of Germanic origin, which lurked entrenched in castles within and without the city, surrounded by armed retainers, ready to seize upon any pretext to make trouble; and the burghers were bent on reducing the feudal lords to political impotence. The old quarrel between Guelfs and Ghibellines had

ceased with the defeat of the latter party at Benevento in 1266; but new factions, as irreconcilable as the old, carried on the internal war. The Whites, under the leadership of the Cerchi family, represented the new power of industry and money; the Donati, with their Blacks, stood for the old nobility, with which the unaffiliated lowest class was inclined to side. In 1300 the most active leaders of both parties were sentenced to banishment. The Blacks, unsuccessful at home, sought aid abroad. Pope Boniface VIII, who had an old claim on Tuscany, sent to the city that royal adventurer, Charles of Valois, ostensibly as a peacemaker. He entered Florence with an army, and straightway turned it over to the Blacks. The Whites were driven out, among them Dante, who never returned. This was in 1302.[1]

In such a community Dante was born in 1265, probably in the last days of May. We know little of his career. His works afford some bits of information, and there are a few scraps of documentary evidence; his neighbor, Giovanni Villani, inserted a brief sketch of him in his Chronicle; Boccaccio prepared a short, eulogistic account of him after his death, and his life was written in the next century by Leonardo Bruni. These are our principal sources. The mass of legend that has grown up about him makes the truth all the more difficult to ascertain. He came of a family ennobled several generations back, but neither rich nor particularly conspicuous. Their name was originally *Alagherius*, or *Alaghieri*. His own name, *Dante*, is a shortened form of *Durante*. His mother died during his childhood, and his father, after marrying again, died in 1283. A half-brother, Francesco, and a half-sister, Tana, were the fruit of this new marriage. Concerning another sister we do not know whether she was the child of the first wife or the second. As far as we can judge from the *Commedia*, the lad's early impressions of family life were happy. He doubtless received a careful

[1] See R. W. Church, *Dante: an Essay*, 1878; E. G. Gardner, *The Story of Florence*, 1900; A. J. Butler, *Dante, his Times and his Work*, 2d ed., 1901; P. Villari, *I primi due secoli della storia di Firenze: Ricerche*, 1893–4 (English translation by L. Villari in 1894–5); R. Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz*, II, 1908; I. Del Lungo, *Da Bonifazio VIII a Arrigo VII*, 1899.

education; it is likely enough that, after learning the rudiments from the Dominicans, he attended the Franciscan school of Santa Croce. Close familiarity with country as well as city life is shown in his writings. His imagination was cultivated by much reading of Provençal and French poets, from whom he learned unaided the science of metrics. He was deeply influenced, too, by contemporary art, and himself practised drawing. Early he distinguished himself as a poet, in a town where poetry and music were just acquiring an unprecedented vogue; and through his verse he made valuable acquaintances. His 'first friend' was the famous poet Guido, considerably his senior and his literary adviser, of the rich Cavalcanti family. Brunetto Latini, a great scholar, secretary of the Republic, aided him with counsel. Other poets, the notary Lapo Gianni and later the youthful Cino da Pistoia, and also the musician Casella, were his associates. A comrade of less desirable character was Forese Donati, brother of Corso, the leader of the Blacks; Forese, a high liver of shady reputation, exchanged with Dante a series of scurrilous sonnets. Dante mingled in the pastimes of his city and did not hold aloof from more serious civic matters: in 1289 he took part in an important military campaign, probably not his first. He may have been in Bologna in 1287 or thereabouts; he must have visited Lombardy before 1300. Between 1293 and 1300 he got deeply into debt. At some time before 1297 he married Gemma Donati, a distant relative of Corso and Forese, to whom he had probably been affianced since boyhood; she bore him two sons, Pietro and Jacopo, and, in all likelihood, two daughters. The family did not follow him in his exile, although three of the children later joined him in Ravenna. Gemma remained in Florence, where she was still alive in 1332. In 1295 Dante entered public life, and a few years later became an important figure in local politics. He strove for the independence of Florence, and repeatedly opposed the projects of the Pope. After going on an embassy to Gan Gemignano, he was for two months, in the summer of 1300, one of the six Priors of Florence. In 1301 he was commissioned to supervise the widening and improvement of a street. At the critical moment of the advent

of Charles of Valois, or shortly before, Dante is said, on good authority, to have been absent on a mission to Rome. On trumped-up charges he was condemned, first to fine and exclusion, later to death by fire; subsequently, perhaps in 1315, he refused to purchase pardon by submission. For a little while after his banishment, in 1302, he conspired with his fellow-exiles; then, disgusted with their policy, perhaps in danger of his life from their violence, he turned his back on them and 'formed a party by himself.' The story of his wanderings is fragmentary. His first refuge was with the Scala family in Verona. On the death of his generous patron, Bartolommeo, in 1304, he is supposed to have visited the university at Bologna; he may even have given private instruction there. There is reason to believe that he travelled widely in Italy, especially in the North. In 1306 he was in Lunigiana with the Malaspina, for whom, on October 6, he acted as attorney in concluding a peace with the bishop of Luni. Thence he probably went to the mountains of the Casentino, on the upper Arno; and it is believed, on the authority of Boccaccio and Villani, that he journeyed between 1307 and 1309 to Paris. In 1308 Henry of Luxembourg, a noble idealist, was elected Emperor; crowned the next year at Aix as Henry VII, he descended in 1310 into Italy, to reunite Church and State, restore order, and reduce rebellious cities to submission. His coming aroused wild excitement and conflicting passions. Florence from the first offered sturdy and successful opposition. Dante, who firmly believed that the woes of Florence and all Italy — in fact, most of the evils in the world — were due to lack of Imperial guidance, greeted Henry as a saviour and hastened to pay him homage. Four letters written in 1310 and 1311 show him in a state of feverish exaltation. He was probably in Pisa in 1312. Henry's invasion, however, was fruitless: he was involved in a turmoil of party strife; the Pope who had summoned him turned against him; and just as his prospects were brightening he died ingloriously near Siena in 1313. With him perished Dante's immediate hopes of peace, the regeneration of his country, and his own restoration. Possibly he took refuge with the Imperial champion Can Grande della Scala in

Verona in 1314. If, as we may infer from a passage in the *Commedia*, Dante went to Lucca, this visit may well have occurred shortly after Henry's death, possibly in 1315; in that year or the next he doubtless returned to Verona. Later, we do not know when, the poet, already famous through his lyrics, his *Convivio*, *Inferno*, and *Purgatorio*, was offered an asylum in Ravenna by Guido Novello da Polenta, a nephew of Francesca da Rimini. His daughter Beatrice was a nun in that city; his son Pietro held a benefice there. This was his home until his death on September 13 or 14, 1321. Shortly before the end he was sent on a mission to Venice. His last years seem to have been peaceful and happy. In Ravenna, where he was greatly esteemed, he had congenial society and eager pupils. He maintained friendly relations with Can Grande della Scala, captain of the Ghibelline league, on whom he built great hopes. Though Florence still repudiated him, Bologna desired his presence.[1]

The foregoing biography of Dante omits the most significant feature of his life, the love for Beatrice. The chivalric amorous service of ladies, which had sprung up among the poets of southern France, developed with some of the later troubadours, under the influence of the growing cult of Mary in the 13th century, into an idealization of woman and a spiritual devotion. But it remained for the school of Bologna and its Florentine disciples to transform this sentiment into a transcendental passion, a combination of religious mysticism and instinctive desire with the Averrhoistic doctrine of a passive individual soul and an active oversoul. In the verse of Guido Guinizelli, who lived just before Dante, woman becomes the visible symbol of the angelic nature; the lover worships in his lady the Heavenly Intelligence which reveals itself in her; only the noble heart is capable of love, and without a fitting object to arouse its inborn love to activity even such a heart is powerless to manifest its latent goodness. These ideas are set forth in a beau-

[1] See P. Toynbee, *Dante Alighieri*, 1901; D. G. Rossetti, *Dante and his Circle*, 1874; N. Zingarelli, *Dante*, 1900 (in the *Storia letteraria d' Italia*, III), and *La vita di Dante in compendio*, 1905; G. Salvadori, *Sulla vita giovanile di Dante*, 1907; M. Scherillo, *Alcuni capitoli della biografia di Dante*, 1896; P. Gauthiez, *Dante : essai sur sa vie*, 1908.

tiful *canzone* beginning 'Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore,' to which Dante continually reverts. Guinizelli he calls his master, and master of all those who write sweet rhymes of love. Dante, dreamer that he was, and profoundly religious, naturally fell under the sway of this teaching. Critics have hotly debated the question whether his Beatrice was a real woman. Boccaccio asserts that she was Beatrice Portinari, daughter of Folco Portinari, a wealthy and public-spirited Florentine who died in 1289; before that date she was married to a rich banker of good family, Simone dei Bardi. There is no valid ground for rejecting this statement. But after all it makes little difference who she was: the living woman merely furnished the impression that aroused the poet's creative fancy. All imaginative lovers idealize their mistresses beyond recognition. The Beatrice that Dante presents to us, real as she was to him, is almost wholly the product of his own mind. With the flesh-and-blood Beatrice he seems to have had little more than a bowing acquaintance, and there is no reason to believe that she returned or even understood his affection. He first met her when he was nine and she was eight, and even then — at least so it seemed when he looked back upon the episode — she appeared to him as a revelation of the heavenly. Nine years later they exchanged a greeting. When, led to think ill of him by his excessive attentions to another lady, she refused to recognize him, he was profoundly hurt; and his pain was redoubled on one occasion when, with other ladies, she laughed at his show of emotion. He grieved with her sorrow at the loss of a friend, and again when her father was taken from her; he was tormented by a foreboding of her death. Stirred by feminine criticism, he determined to exclude supplication from his verse and make all his love-poetry a hymn of praise. So much he tells us, in the *Vita Nuova*, of his relations with the living Beatrice. After her death, in 1290, her image seems to have become clearer and more fixed; but her influence could not preserve him from morbid dejection and unworthy pursuits. Book-learning and worldliness engrossed him for a while, in spite of the recurring prick of conscience. Even in early youth his fancy had strayed to other women, and his comradeship with

the disreputable Forese Donati is perhaps to be ascribed to a boyish period. After the passing of Beatrice he was, as he thought, unduly moved by the pity of an unnamed lady, who soon, however, became in his mind a mere visible picture of the object of his great passion, Philosophy. Later, in the Casentino, he apparently became violently enamored of a young woman to whom he addressed the most wildly beautiful lyrics in all amatory literature; but even these poems are not beyond the suspicion of allegorical intent.[1]

When we ask ourselves why we are so strangely stirred by the words of a man of whom we know so little, one so remote in date and in thought, we find that it is because, on the one hand, he knew how to present universal emotions, stripping his experiences of all that is peculiar to time or place; and, secondly, because he felt more intensely than other men: his joy, his anguish, his love, his hate, his hope, his faith, were so keen that they come quivering down through the ages and set our hearts in responsive vibration. This intensity seems to distinguish him from other poets of the Middle Ages, perhaps, in part, because he alone had the art to express it. His mastery of language far transcends that of any other mediæval poet, and surpasses that of all but the few very foremost in the world's history. In his close observation and apparent enjoyment of the varying, even the sternest aspects of nature, he seems nearer to our generation than to his own. His study of human nature is no less close. Though the title *Commedia* contained, in its author's mind, no suggestion of the stage, the poem exhibits a command of dramatic situation, a skill in characterization by means of dialogue, not to be found in any

[1] See V. Cian, *I contatti letterari italo-provenzali e la prima rivoluzione poetica della letteratura italiana*, 1900; K. Vossler, *Die philosophischen Grundlagen zum "süssen neuen Stil,"* 1904; L. Azzolina, *Il "dolce stil nuovo,"* 1903; P. Savj-Lopez, *Trovatori e poeti*, 1906, pp. 9 ff.; Moore, II, 79; E. V. Zappia, *Studi sulla Vita Nuova di Dante. Della questione di Beatrice*, 1904; I. Del Lungo, *Beatrice nella vita e nella poesia del secolo XIII*, 1891; G. Carducci, *Delle rime di Dante*, in his *Studi letterari*, viii, 1 ff.; A. Zenatti, *Le rime di Dante per la Pargoletta*, in the *Rivista d' Italia*, Jan. 15, 1899; V. Imbriani, *Sulle canzoni pietrose di Dante*, in his *Studi danteschi*, 1891, pp. 427 ff.; A. Abbruzzese, *Su le "Rime Pietrose" di Dante*, in the *Giorn. dant.*, XI, 97 ff.; A. Santi, *Il Canzoniere di Dante*, vol. II, 1906 (vol. I has not yet appeared).

playwright from Euripides to Shakespeare. One other gift he possessed that belongs to no period, but is bestowed upon the greatest artists of all times — the power of visualization, the ability to see distinctly in his mind's eye and to place before the mental vision of the reader not only such things as men have seen, but also the creations of a grandiose imagination, and even bodiless abstractions. In most other respects he belonged to his age: in his submission to authority in all matters of science and philosophy, his unquestioning acceptance of Christian dogma; in his subordination of beauty to truth and his relegation of it to the position of handmaid to utility; in his conception of the individual, not as an independent unit, but as a part of humanity, and his consequent desire to suppress all reference to the events and characteristics that differentiate himself from other men. Mediæval, too, was his mysticism: in him we see a man with the most acute perception of reality, the most eager interest in the doings of his fellows, yet imbued with the idea that the world of fact is all a shadowy image of the world of spirit; his feet were firmly planted on earth, while his head was in the clouds.[1]

Visionary as he was, saddened by his own misfortunes, and exasperated by human wickedness, he had a fundamentally healthy disposition. In his character fierce passion was mated with equally vigorous self-control; vehemence was balanced by introspection and self-judgment; imagination was yoked with logic. He admired simplicity, even asceticism, but he was far from being a foe to culture or to the usages of polite society. He was fond of courtly pursuits, and erudite even to pedantry. In the great writings of pagan times he found a source of endless delight, and he did not hesitate to put them on a par with his Christian authorities. His admiration was less excited by Christian martyrs than by heroic pagan suicides. His Christ is always sublime, a part of the triune God, never the meek lamb nor the humble preacher of Galilee. His outlook upon life was persistently hopeful. Bad as the world was, there could be no doubt of ultimate reform. The Lord, in his unfathomable wisdom, might allow evil to triumph for a while, but his kingdom was

[1] See J. R. Lowell, *Dante*, in his *Literary Essays*, 1897.

sure to come. Dante's political views were entirely abstract and theoretical, and reactionary even for his own day. He had always before him the general principle rather than the particular case. Man being naturally a social creature, political organization is necessary, both in order to supply the manifold needs of the community, assigning different functions to different members, and in order to check greed and insure justice and peace, so that every citizen may have an opportunity to attain his highest development. The State, then, is as necessary — though not so venerable — as the Church. God ordained both, and decreed that Cæsar should found the one, Christ the other. Empire and Papacy are coördinate powers, neither subservient to the other, but both responsible directly to God. The goodness and happiness of the world depend on the balance of the temporal and the spiritual authorities. The rapacity of the clergy and the negligence of sovereigns have disturbed this equilibrium by transferring to the Papacy what belongs to the Empire. Mankind cannot thrive until the adjustment is restored. In his treatment of civics, and in the importance given to avarice as a disturber of society, Dante follows Aristotle, whom he first knew, perhaps, through the commentary of St. Thomas. From the same master he derived vast stores of physical information, as well as a philosophical method and terminology. His general classification of sins and his definition of moral virtues are Aristotelian, but his essential conception of sin and virtue is quite different, being thoroughly Christian. One can only guess what Dante would have been had he really known Plato, to whom he was temperamentally so much more akin. On the ethical side Dante was an eclectic, as were his ancient masters, Cicero and Boethius; Senecan stoicism and Franciscan mysticism dwelt in him side by side. St. Thomas, the interpreter of Aristotle, the learned and ingenious expounder of moral philosophy and Christian dogma, furnished Dante with an abundance of religious doctrine and a host of subtle observations and arguments (not always devoid of inconsistency), and reinforced his inborn fondness for intricate reasoning. To St. Thomas's teacher, Albertus Magnus, the 'Universal Doctor,' perhaps the

greatest scholar and philosopher of the Middle Ages, Dante was directly indebted for not a few of his physical and ethical ideas. Like St. Augustine, Dante takes as his starting-point the Pauline doctrine of predestination and grace; but he draws from it very different consequences. In Dante, as in St. Paul, love is supreme. It is the moving force of the universe and of God himself. Through love God was impelled to create, that there might be others to share his happiness. Everything created is filled with love of the Creator. Animals, plants, lifeless things express their love by being what he made them: the stone, by its hardness and its magic power; the star, by its light and its influence upon earth; the beast, by following its instinct. They cannot do wrong, having no choice. It was God's purpose, however, that there should be creatures with an individual consciousness, a real life of their own; this could not be without freedom of the will, and such freedom implies the possibility of sin. Angels and men alone were given ability to sin, because they alone were created free. But almost instantly after their creation the angels were endowed with such overwhelming grace of vision that their will was absorbed in that of their Maker. The revolt of Lucifer and his fellows occurred in the moment between creation and the acceptance of this grace. The power of vision bestowed on the Heavenly Intelligences is not the same for all: no two angels see God alike, and consequently their natures and functions are diverse, though entirely good. So it is with men. God, in his grace, gives to different men, as he shapes their souls, different degrees of vision. On this vision all their knowledge and all their love depend. According to its clearness, the love of God is more or less intense, wisdom is greater or less, the choice of good and evil is easier or harder, and the eternal state of the soul, if Heaven be attained, is a higher or lower degree of blessedness. Every soul has sight enough to win salvation, and is therefore fully responsible; but some are capable of greater beatitude than others. Predestination becomes, then, in Dante, a mysterious manifestation of God's love: he loves all men, but he fashions them for different ends, on earth and in Heaven, and his love for all is not identical. The natural instinct of man is

to return to his Creator and to love all that is like him. But through inexperience and lack of guidance he may at first mistake evil for good. He possesses, however, the grace of vision, which enables him to discriminate; if he persists in wrongdoing, he rejects grace and sins. If he dies unrepentant, he loses grace forever; if he repents before death, he regains grace and innocence by discipline. Had mankind from the beginning made the proper use of the free will, there would have been no death; all human beings would have lived happily on earth until the Judgment Day, and would then have been taken up to Heaven in the flesh. Adam's disobedience brought death and sin into the world, and suspended salvation until atonement was made by Christ. Only by faith in Christ, before or after his coming, can man be saved; but this faith is (theoretically, at least) within the reach of all. We have seen that man's path is made unduly hard by the lack of temporal direction, for which the impotence of the State is to blame. Men's talents and dispositions differ, too, being the product of the stars — governed by Heavenly Intelligences — that presided over their birth; but every human creature has power to overcome his natural defects so far as to make himself worthy of Heaven. The origin of imperfection in the universe is a difficult (not to say insoluble) problem — one to which Dante often reverted, without ever finding a satisfactory answer. His main argument is that whatsoever is directly shaped by God is perfect, what is fashioned by nature (that is, by the influence of the stars) is faulty. God created brute matter, the heavens, the angels, and creates human souls as they are born. All the rest is the work of nature. Why nature, itself the work of God, should operate defectively, we are not told. Elsewhere Dante says that God, in making material things, has to work with matter, which being imperfect, the divine plan is not realized; but inasmuch as God created matter, this statement can be reconciled with the other only by the supposition that Dante here means, not brute matter, but matter already differentiated and compounded by nature. His whole explanation reduces itself to this: the angels, having an incomplete vision of the divine mind, cannot execute its intent so well as God

himself. If we ask why — this being the case — the angels were given this ministry, or, having the charge, were not endowed with complete sight, no reply is offered. The theory that evil was introduced into the world that man might have exercise for his free will is not formulated in the *Divine Comedy*.[1]

Outside of the *Divine Comedy*, Dante's ideas are to be found, first of all, in the *Convivio*, an unfinished encyclopædic work, in Italian, in the form of a discursive prose commentary on fourteen of the author's *canzoni;* of the projected fifteen books, only four were written, and only three *canzoni* are included. The logically constructed, but purely idealistic and theoretical *De Monarchia*, a Latin treatise in three books, contains his political views. Another Latin treatise, the uncompleted *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, gives us his opinions on language in general, the use of the modern idiom as a literary medium, the relative merits of the various Italian dialects, and the principles of poetic composition in the vulgar tongue; he believed that an ideal, universal Italian, different from any of the actually spoken dialects, was fit, not only for amatory verse, but for martial and moral themes as well. A third Latin work ascribed to him, the *De Aqua et Terra*, is a controversial lecture delivered in Verona in 1320, debating technically the question whether the water of the sea rises in any part higher than the land. Fourteen Latin letters, written at different periods, are attributed to him in manuscripts, and there is record of others, now lost; the authenticity of all the fourteen has been doubted, but it is probable that at least ten are his. Of a political character are the epistles to the princes and peoples of Italy, to the Emperor, to the Florentines, to the Italian cardinals, to a Florentine friend, and an early one to Can Grande. The most important from a literary standpoint, if he really wrote it, is the later, ponderously exegetical *Epistola ad Canem Grandem*, accompanying the first canto of the *Paradiso* with a minute comment on its opening lines and a general discussion of allegory. Many letters and many poems have doubtless perished. On the other hand, some

[1] See K. Vossler, *Die göttliche Komödie. Entwicklungsgeschichte und Erklärung*, vol. I, 1907.

pieces of verse that have gone under his name are, in all likelihood, not his. There seems to be no sufficient reason to ascribe to him the long sonnet sequence called *Il Fiore*, an abridged paraphrase of the *Roman de la Rose*. Among the miscellaneous poems, not contained in his longer works, that are attached to him, we may reckon as his a dozen *canzoni*, a half dozen or more *ballate*, two *sestine*, and some twenty-five or thirty sonnets; they were composed at various times, and treat of love, philosophy, ethics, and sundry occasional topics. Some of them are similar in tone to those comprised in the *Convivio*, others are in the same vein as the thirty-one (mostly sonnets) that form the skeleton of the *Vita Nuova*. This 'little book' consists of a carefully selected and artistically arranged series of amatory poems, surrounded by a dainty prose commentary telling of the poet's early love for Beatrice. There is reason to believe that the prose was written in 1294. Now the final chapter of the *Vita Nuova* speaks of a wondrous vision which determined the lover to write no more of his lady until he should be worthier of the theme; to prepare himself, he was studying with might and main, and he hoped, if his life were spared a few years, to say of her what never had been said of woman. This study, begun for comfort's sake in the darkest hour of mourning for his dead love, as he declares in the *Convivio*, soon became an object in itself, and aroused a new passion that threatened to quench the memory of the old. Beginning with Cicero's *De Amicitia* and the *De Consolatione Philosophiæ* of Boethius, he plunged deep into philosophy and theology. Of the vast knowledge thus accumulated the scholar was naturally proud, and he planned to set it before his fellow-men in the *Convivio*, which was to be a guide to others and a defence of himself. This treatise doubtless occupied him between 1305 and 1308. Only when vast hopes were awakened and then temporarily blighted by the advent and death of his Imperial hero, did Dante forsake this project; then, leaving it two thirds unrealized — leaving unfinished, too, it would seem, his *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, — he returned to the fulfilment of his earlier purpose, which, in all probability, he had never quite aban-

doned. Conceived, then, it appears, as early as 1293 or 1294, the plan of the *Divina Commedia* was probably not fully matured until after the death of Henry VII, the Emperor whose advent in 1310 had aroused such wild expectations in Dante's breast. As Henry died in 1313 and the poet in 1321, we may ascribe the composition of the work, in the main, to the years that lie between these dates. Some critics, however, put the *Inferno* much earlier. Both the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio* were made public, either singly or together, considerably before the *Paradiso*. If report is to be trusted, this last *cantica* busied the author until the very end of his life. Yet he found time, in his last years, to write two graceful Latin eclogues and (if they be his) the letter to Can Grande and the *Quæstio de Aqua et Terra*. There is no external and no definite internal evidence to fix the date of the *De Monarchia*; its general style and maturity point to the latest possible period.[1]

In making his preparation, what books had he studied? The *Æneid*, that corner-stone of mediæval education, must have confronted him from childhood; he tells us that he knew it all by heart. There is no proof, however, that he read the *Georgics*, or any of the *Eclogues* except the fourth. The Latin Bible he had at his fingers' ends. Cicero's ethical writings — especially *De Amicitia* and *De Officiis* — and the great work of Boethius introduced him to philosophy. Much of Aristotle (but not the *Poetics*) and perhaps Plato's *Timæus* he mastered later, in Latin translation. He seems to have seen something of Seneca's prose. Of the Christian scholars and theologians, first of all St. Thomas, then Albertus Magnus, St. Augustine, Hugh and Richard of St. Victor, St. Bonaventura, St. Bernard, Peter Lombard, and apparently St. Gregory the Great, St. Isidore of Seville, Peter Damiano, were assiduously consulted;

[1] See E. Gorra, *Per la genesi della "Divina Commedia,"* in his *Fra drammi e poemi*, 1900; also *Quando Dante scrisse la "Divina Commedia"* in the *Rendiconti del R. Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere*, S. II, xxxix, 666 and 827, and xl, 202 (cf. *Bull.*, XV, 1). For a recent discussion of the letters, see Novati, 329. See also: G. Boffito, *L'Epistola di Dante Alighieri a Cangrande della Scala*, 1907; V. Biagi, *La Quæstio de Aqua et Terra*, 1908.

and his works show traces of many others. His principal historians were Livy and the Christian Paulus Orosius, author of the *Historia adversus Paganos;* he knew also several compendiums, notably the anecdotical compilation of Valerius Maximus. The treatises of Ægidius Romanus and John of Paris probably came under his inspection. He doubtless was acquainted with the elder Pliny and Solinus; he certainly read the *Trésor* of Brunetto Latini, and probably the *Composizione del mondo* of Ristoro d' Arezzo. Astronomy he pursued with characteristic thoroughness, first, perhaps, in the *Elementa Astronomica* of Alfraganus. Some strange words and a deal of curious misinformation he got from the *Magnæ Derivationes* of Uguccione da Pisa, who lived in the second half of the 12th century. Among the Latin poets, besides Virgil, he was intimate with Ovid, Lucan, and Statius, from whom he derived most of his classical mythology and much of his ancient history. He knew Horace's *Ars Poetica.* Many classical authors whom he had not read were known to him by name and reputation; among them, Homer. Greek and Hebrew he never learned, save a few isolated words. Latin, of the rhetorical, mediæval sort, he wrote well, but with less ease and brilliancy than Italian. He could read and write Provençal, and assuredly knew French. He was deeply versed in the lyric poetry of southern France, and was familiar, directly or indirectly, with the epics of the north. He had critically examined the work of the Italian poets who had preceded him in Sicily, Tuscany, and Bologna; his estimates are to be found, not only in his *De Vulgari Eloquentia,* but also incidentally in the *Vita Nuova* and the *Divina Commedia.* His own lyrics, by the way, reveal a skill far excelling that of any of his forebears. The learning acquired by all this study was not wasted: it reappears in the *Divine Comedy.* This great poem, unrivalled as it is for sustained grandeur of thought and symmetry of form, resolves itself, upon careful analysis, into at least six diverse elements, fused by genius into a single masterpiece —

> 'Tutti conflati insieme per tal modo
> Che ciò ch' io dico è un semplice lume.'

Six literary types are blended into one: the Encyclopædia, the Journey, the Vision, the Autobiography, the Praise of Woman, the Allegory.[1]

The idea of a practical compendium of human knowledge was not unknown to the old Romans: Pliny, for instance, composed the *Historia Naturalis*, Celsus the *De Artibus*. To the borderland of ancient and mediæval times belongs that vast compilation, the *Origines* or *Etymologiæ* of St. Isidore of Seville. Others followed, not only in Latin but also in the vulgar tongues; and then came the attempt to give such works poetic form: witness, for example, the Provençal *Breviari d'Amors*, a huge allegorized treatise, written and widely diffused in Dante's lifetime. In Dante's own city lived Brunetto Latini, author of the French *Trêsor* and also of the Italian *Tesoretto*, a versified guide to learning in the semblance of a mystic journey — that same Latini who taught the youthful poet 'come l' uom s' eterna.' The *Commedia* contains the essentials of the vital science, theology, with a full discussion of difficult problems; also the principles of the ancillary discipline, philosophy. It offers, furthermore, a complete course in astronomy and cosmography, with occasional lessons in physics, and much incidental instruction in history and mythology. And this solid doctrine is not to be regarded as intrusive; it forms, so to speak, the nucleus of the whole work.

Among the travellers' tales that delighted the wonder-loving public none were better liked than those which told of journeys to the Garden of Eden; and of these the most famous was the *Voyage of St. Brendan*, the narrative of an Irish monk who sailed out into the Atlantic and after marvellous adventures discovered the Isles of the Blest. It is in Dante's *Purgatorio*, and especially in his de-

[1] See Moore, I; M. Scherillo, *Alcuni capitoli della biografia di Dante*, 1896, 448 ff.; P. Chistoni, *La seconda fase del pensiero dantesco*, 1903; R. Murari, *Dante e Boezio*, 1905; P. Rajna, *Lo schema della Vita Nuova*, 1890, in the *Biblioteca delle scuole italiane*, II, ii, 161; M. Scherillo, *Alcune fonti provenzali della Vita Nuova*, 1889; H. D. Chaytor, *The Troubadours of Dante*, 1902; C. B. Heberden, *Dante's Lyrical Metres: his Theory and Practice* in the *Modern Language Review*, iii, 313.

scription of the Earthly Paradise, that the influence of such stories is most evident. The inaccessibility, the wall of fire, the birds, the flowers, the streams, the eternal springtime are traditional features; even the lovely youthful figure of Matilda, genius of the place, has a counterpart in the *St. Brendan*. Some authorities put the Garden on a remote mountain-top, others consigned it to a distant island. Dante combined these locations, and made his Eden the summit of a lone peak rising sky-high from the midst of the great ocean. The spot where man first sinned is directly opposite Jerusalem, where he was redeemed.[1]

In II Corinthians xii, St. Paul declares that 'he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter.' What he saw and heard he refused to tell, but posterity was less discreet. Toward the end of the 4th century there appeared a Greek document, found, it was said, in the apostle's house in Tarsus — the *Apocalypse of St. Paul*. Though denounced by St. Augustine, and never accepted by the Church, it enjoyed an immense vogue, and was turned into Syriac and Latin. The Latin *Visio Sancti Pauli* — which tells how the Chosen Vessel, led by an angel, visited the realms of the dead — formed the basis of several versions in the vulgar tongues of Europe. But it stood by no means alone. Visions too numerous to tell were seen and invented for many centuries; conspicuous among them are those described in two Irish tales, the *Tundal* and *St. Patrick's Purgatory;* in Dante's own country there was recorded the *Visio Alberici*. Most of these treat of the lower world, in which Hell and Purgatory lie side by side. A large part of the punishments portrayed by Dante were commonplaces of vision literature; but he avoided the extremes of coarseness and grotesqueness, and introduced system and fitness where all had been chaotic. It was his happy idea, moreover, to lift Purgatory to the earth's surface, place it far from Hell, next to the Garden of Eden, and surround it with an atmosphere of light and

[1] See D' Ovidio[2]; A. Graf, *La leggenda del Paradiso terrestre*, 1878, and *Il mito del Paradiso terrestre* in *Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio evo*, 1892, I; E. Coli, *Il paradiso terrestre dantesco*, 1897.

hope. Meanwhile St. Paul's reticence had borne other fruit. A Neo-Platonic treatise, not earlier than the 5th century, *On the Celestial Hierarchy*, dealing with the heavens and the Heavenly Intelligences, had been ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, the apostle's convert in Athens, and was supposed to contain an authentic record of revelation confided by the master to his disciple. Dante's classification of heavens and angels is founded on this work. But heathen as well as Christian could dream dreams of the hereafter. The *Somnium Scipionis* in Cicero's *De Republica* depicts good souls rising to the stars, and the petty earth in the centre of nine revolving spheres. If Homer's account of a descent into the world of the departed was unknown in the Middle Ages, those of Ovid, Lucan, and Statius were familiar to scholars, and Virgil's was before every schoolboy's eyes. Dante's Hell is full of Virgilian names; Christian and pagan figures are strangely commingled. This must have seemed less incongruous to the author than to us, for in his day the gods of classic mythology were regarded as demons, fallen angels who had seduced mankind to worship them. Furthermore, Dante thought of the ancient poets as seers, who had some inkling of the truth, and in veiled language told of things that became fully known only through the word of God: for instance, when Ovid sang of the Golden Age, or the battle of the giants, he was dimly conscious of the state of man before the fall, and the revolt of the angels against their Maker.[1]

The *Divine Comedy* is not only an Encyclopædia, a Journey, a Vision — it is the Autobiography of a soul. The events of his external life Dante scrupulously excluded from his works: he never mentions his parents, his children, nor, in all probability, his wife; an apparent reference to his sister, in the *Vita Nuova*, is couched in the vaguest terms; only incidentally and rarely does he afford a passing glimpse of his material affairs. His *Vita Nuova*, professedly the story of his youth, is the most baffling record ever penned. In

[1] See A. D'Ancona, *I precursori di Dante*, 1874; M. Dods, *Forerunners of Dante*, 1903; A. Graf, *La demonologia di Dante* in *Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio evo*, 1892, II.

his opinion, it is not meet to speak of one's self: 'parlare alcuno di sè medesimo pare non licito,' he declares in the *Convivio*. This maxim evidently does not apply, however, to the inner self, provided that self be generalized into a type of mankind, and provided the recounting of its experiences be helpful to other erring souls — 'quando per ragionare di sè grandissima utilità ne segue altrui per via di dottrina.' Like St. Paul and Æneas, Dante had a mission, a vital message for humanity. The *Divine Comedy* is the epic of remorse, repentance, purification, and final uplifting. Incidentally it depicts the depravity of the world and points the way to social regeneration. For a work of this kind Dante had a great example in the *Confessions* of St. Augustine, and another, allegorically conceived, in Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*.

From the dawn of amorous poetry in Provence it was the habit of the bard to vaunt the charms of his mistress and her superiority to the rest of her sex, attributing to her influence all credit for such gifts as he himself might possess. His life, he alleged, was given to her service, his verse was a tribute to her power. Such a tribute, but a loftier, more enduring one, Dante determined to pay to his lady: 'spero,' he says, 'di dire di lei quello che mai non fu detto d'alcuna.' The *Divine Comedy* is a monument to Beatrice, and, in truth, such a monument as never was erected, before nor after, to any woman.[1]

'Sciendum est,' declares the letter to Can Grande, referring to the *Divina Commedia*, 'quod istius operis non est simplex sensus, immo dici potest polysemum, hoc est plurium sensuum; nam alius sensus est qui habetur per literam, alius est qui habetur per significata per literam. Et primus dicitur literalis, secundus vero allegoricus, sive mysticus.' Allegorical interpretation had been applied by the ancient Hebrews to the prophecies of the Old Testament, and by the Greeks — in late, sophisticated times — to the Homeric poems. It was early applied also to some of the Latin poets. The *Æneid* was regularly so expounded; a commentary of this kind was surely known to Dante. The method reached its highest develop-

[1] See L. F. Mott, *The System of Courtly Love*, 1896.

ment, however, in the explanation of the Bible by the Church fathers. In the second book of the *Convivio* Dante discusses it at length; and there he differentiates theological from poetic allegory. In the former the literal as well as the mystic sense is true, while in poetry the letter is fiction and truth resides in the allegory alone. The Old Testament is an accurate record of fact, but at the same time a prophecy of the New; whereas the fable of Orpheus is literally false and only metaphorically true. Furthermore, Dante distinguishes, in addition to the literal and the allegorical, a moral and an anagogical meaning: the one is merely the useful inference that the reader may draw from a story, for the guidance of his own life; the other, which is obscurely defined, seems to be a revelation of spiritual truth, hidden in the words of the text. Dante himself, in the interpretation of his *canzoni* in the *Convivio*, confines his attention to the literal and the allegorical senses. Allegorical composition was to Dante not an artificial but a natural process. He lived in a world of mystic correspondences. Numbers, stars, stones, beasts, had a mysterious significance; even the events of history were fraught with symbolic meaning. The relation of fact to symbol was not arbitrary nor fortuitous; it was real and predestined. Thus in his poem the outer and the inner narratives seem indissolubly bound; neither obstructs the other, neither is complete without the other, and to the intelligent reader the two are of equal interest. The *Divine Comedy* is perhaps the only great allegory of which this can be said to-day. In Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, for example, the literal story is too crude and fantastic to please any but a child, and the symbolism appeals only to the adult. In the *Roman de la Rose* the allegory is ingenious and artistically attractive, but the literal fable is insignificant; while the converse is true of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*.

In exposition, says Dante, 'sempre lo litterale dee andare innanzi'; and he adds, describing his interpretation of his own *canzoni*, 'ragionerò prima la litterale sentenza, e appresso di quella ragionerò la sua allegoria, cioè l'ascosa verità.' We may pursue the

same course. Literally, then, the *Divina Commedia* is the narrative of a journey through Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven. The poet, in the middle of his life, finds himself astray at night in a dark wood. He tries to save himself by climbing a mountain whose top is lit by the rays of the rising sun; but three beasts, besetting his path, are about to drive him back, when Virgil, summoned to Dante's help by Beatrice, at the bidding of Mary and St. Lucia, appears and offers to guide him. They can escape from the wood only by going through the earth from side to side. This path leads them through the whole of Hell, where Dante sees the punishment of every kind of sin and converses with the damned. Hell ends at the earth's centre, and from that point the poets climb out by a dark, winding channel to the opposite hemisphere. They emerge in the middle of the ocean, on the shore of an island which consists mainly of a colossal mountain. Cato of Utica, the guardian of the place, meets and directs them. Up the steep mountain-side Dante drags himself, still accompanied by Virgil. On the ledges are repentant souls preparing themselves by discipline for the heavenly life. As Dante and Virgil are approaching the summit, they are joined by Statius, who has just completed his penance. The three mount together to the top, where they find the Garden of Eden, and in it a fair, happy, amorous young maiden, Matilda, who seems to embody the spirit of the place. Amid the trees and flowers they witness a pageant of the Church, whose culmination is the appearance of Beatrice in a shower of lilies thrown by angels. Now Virgil vanishes, and presently Statius is mentioned for the last time. Beatrice it is who leads Dante up from earth through the revolving heavens into the real Paradise, which is the presence of the Almighty, and consigns him to St. Bernard, the great mystic. There has been unrolled before us a picture of mankind, past and present, and a view of the universe. Dante's conception of the world is essentially symmetrical and organic; there is exact correspondence between the physical, the intellectual, and the spiritual. The poem ends with the vision of God.

In its 'allegorical and true sense' the *Divine Comedy* is the his-

tory of a soul struggling with sin and, with celestial help, winning peace. The wood typifies the worldly life; the sunlit mountain, righteousness; the three beasts, evil habits, which make reform impossible for the unaided soul. But divine Mercy and Grace send Revelation to direct it — that heavenly enlightenment or superhuman Wisdom which *Beatrix*, the Bestower of Blessings, had always personified in Dante's eyes. For direct Revelation the sinner is not yet fit; he must approach it through Reason. So Virgil, who typifies human understanding, discloses to Dante the true nature of sin in all its hideousness and folly: for the punishments of Hell, so minutely described, are but the image of the sins themselves. When Reason has probed sinfulness to the bottom, Dante, horrified, turns his back upon it and painfully wrests his soul from its clutches; such is the significance of the laborious but uneventful journey from the centre of the earth to the Island of Purgatory. As yet, however, Dante has merely weaned himself from evil practices; he has still to cleanse his soul so that wrongdoing will no longer attract it — to purify it and prepare it for the sight of God. This can be accomplished only by discipline, under the guidance of the Church. Then, as the shackles of sin are removed, the soul once more enjoys its inborn liberty; it regains the Free Will, God's most precious gift to man. Of all the doctrines that Dante expounds, that of Free Will is closest to his heart — the wholesome doctrine of individual responsibility. And Cato, Dante's favorite character in all history — Cato, who gave up life to assert his independence — is made its exponent. The torments on the terraces of Purgatory represent the penances that the soul, under proper direction, must undergo before it can return to its first freedom and innocence. As Dante approaches the top, some questions confront him which Reason alone cannot quite solve; and to answer them, apparently, comes Statius, or human understanding illumined by Christianity. When the soul has regained its original purity — has climbed to its Garden of Eden — and is restored to the primeval life of innocence and activity (which Matilda seems to symbolize), it has no more need of Reason, for all its instincts are unerring. Then, after

the true glories of the Church are unfolded before its eyes, it can follow Revelation through heaven after heaven, ever nearer and nearer to the real Paradise, until at last it stands before its Maker. In the presence of the Source of all knowledge, even Revelation is superfluous; Beatrice resigns her great office, leaving Dante in the charge of St. Bernard, the type of Contemplation. 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.' [1]

If to the literal and the allegorical we must add a moral and an anagogical interpretation, we may assume that morally the poem is a warning against sin, an exhortation and guide to repentance, and an incentive to religious contemplation. Anagogically, the poet may be said to portray in Hell the wicked world as he knows it, in Purgatory the rescue of the elect, and in Paradise the kingdom which is to come.

The epithet 'Divine' became attached to the poem in the 16th century through its use in the edition of 1555. The title which Dante gave his work is *Commedia* (or, as he pronounced it, *Comedìa*), meaning a poetic composition in a style intermediate between the sustained nobility of tragedy and the popular tone of elegy; according to the letter to Can Grande, the name indicates also a sad beginning and a happy end. The author, in fact, does not scruple, on occasion, to sacrifice elegance and even clearness to brevity, vigor, and pictorial effect. He expected to be minutely studied and weighed, not cursorily read. The characteristic detail, the specific term, the appropriate coloring were worth more to him, when he wrote the *Commedia*, than any absolute standard of poetic propriety. His imagery stamps on the reader's mind an unbroken sequence of visual impressions. An inexhaustible inventiveness, a compact style, a richly varied and picturesque vocabulary make the perusal of the *Commedia* a series of literary surprises. Especially when we consider the poverty of the poetic idiom before Dante, does the

[1] In such a delicate and such an individual matter as spiritual interpretation, it is natural that no two commentators should entirely agree. For two widely different methods of exegesis, see F. Flamini, *I significati reconditi della Divina Commedia e il suo fine supremo*, 1903–4, and G. Pascoli, *Sotto il velame*, 1900.

master's creative power seem almost beyond belief. His literary medium was virtually his own handiwork. And this nervous strength, this irrepressible originality do not preclude a haunting melodic beauty and a triumphant rhythm that remind one of the tramp of many feet marching to sweet music. Vowel harmonies, pervasive but seldom obtrusive alliteration, skilful distribution of stress are the elements that combine to work the spell. His language is, in the main, the Florentine speech of his day, as it sounded in the mouths of cultivated people. Mingled with this are a few Gallicisms, some archaisms, some words borrowed from other Italian dialects, and a great many Latinisms. The foreign and unusual words and those employed in a strange sense occur for the most part in the rhyme. Dante was generally averse to periphrasis or deviation from his idea, and was loath to end a verse with an insignificant word; so he was sometimes forced to do violence to usage in his rhymes.[1]

Of the external attributes of the *Divine Comedy*, the most wonderful is its symmetry. With all its huge bulk and bewilderingly multifarious detail, it is as sharply planned as a Gothic cathedral. Dante had the very uncommon power of fixing his attention upon the part without losing sight of the whole: every incident, every character receives its peculiar development, but at the same time is made to contribute its exact share to the total effect. The more one studies the poem, the clearer become its general lines, the more intricate its correspondences, the more elaborate its climaxes. At the end of each *cantica* is one of these great culminating points — the sight of Lucifer, the appearance of Beatrice, the vision of God; and for each of them the reader is insensibly prepared by a series of gradations whose structure reveals itself only after long repeated readings. The arrangement of the *Commedia* is based on the number three, the 'mystic' number, the symbol of the Trinity.

[1] See I. Del Lungo, *Il volgar fiorentino nel poema di Dante* in his *Dal secolo e dal poema di Dante*, 1898; N. Zingarelli, *Parole e forme della Divina Commedia aliene dal dialetto fiorentino*, in *Studî di filologia romanza*, 1888; F. Garlanda, *Il verso di Dante*, 1907.

Dante shared with most philosophers of his day a profound belief in the significance of numbers. The *Divine Comedy* falls into three books, or *cantiche*, of nearly equal length; each of these has thirty-three cantos, except that the *Inferno* has an additional first canto which serves as an introduction to the whole. The total number of cantos is therefore 100, or the 'perfect' number, ten, multiplied by itself. The verse, invented by Dante for this use, is what is called *terza rima*, a succession of tiercets in which the first and third lines rhyme together while the middle line rhymes with the first and third of the next *terzina*. The metre is the *endecasillabo*, which had developed long before Dante's time. It is really the same verse, essentially, as the French ten-syllable line; but the French take the 'masculine,' or oxytonic, verse as the standard, while the Italians take the 'feminine,' or paroxytonic. The Italian line has normally, then, eleven syllables, with an accent on the tenth: see, for instance, *Inf.* I, 1. Occasionally the final unstressed syllable is dropped, and the verse becomes 'masculine,' or *tronco*: for example, *Inf.* IV, 60. Sometimes, on the other hand, an extra unaccented syllable is added, making a dactyllic ending, and the line is called *sdrucciolo*: e. g., *Inf.* XXIV, 66. In counting syllables, contiguous vowels, whether in the same word or in adjacent words, are generally reckoned as one, being blended together, as in *Inf.* I, 25–6:

> 'Co-sì — l' a-ni-mo — mio — che an-cor — fug-gi-va
> Si — vol-se in-die-tro a — ri-mi-rar — lo — pas-so.'

But often two vowels which in prose may make separate syllables are allowed to count as two in verse; this is regularly done at the end of a line : so *Inf.* I, 12,

> 'Che — la — ve-ra-ce — vi-a ab-ban-do-na-i.'

Besides the fixed accent on the tenth syllable of every line, there must be a stress either on the fourth or on the sixth, as in *Inf.* I, 1–2:

> 'Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra víta
> Mi ritrovái per una selva oscúra.'

In point of fact, however, Dante almost always has a more regular alternation of strong and weak syllables — a movement more nearly

approaching that of English poetry — than this theoretical scheme would indicate: see, for instance, *Inf.* V, 106,

'Amór condússe nói ad úna mórte.'[1]

The *Divina Commedia* has come down to us in nearly 600 manuscripts, none of them in the author's hand, and none taken directly from the original; upwards of 200 are in Florence, the others are collected in Italy or scattered over Europe. Many are beautifully illuminated. Although some of the manuscripts go back to a time within fifteen or twenty years of Dante's death, these copies are by no means in full agreement with one another; furthermore, the early commentators cite variants: it is evident that the corruption of the text set in as soon as the poet died, perhaps even before his decease. The poem was first printed in 1472. In 1502 appeared the Aldo Manuzio edition, in 1595 that of the Accademia della Crusca; these were for centuries regarded as authoritative. There was no critical edition until 1862, when K. Witte published one based on four good manuscripts; for one canto he also collated over 400 manuscripts. Three years later A. Mussafia brought out a collation of two manuscripts. After a long interval came editions by P. Toynbee and G. Vandelli. A fruitless attempt to establish a genealogical sequence of manuscripts was made by G. A. Scartazzini. No satisfactory classification of manuscripts has been made; but it is certain that no existing manuscript or group of manuscripts can be regarded as authoritative throughout. In 1894 appeared the 'Oxford Dante,' *Tutte le opere di Dante Alighieri*, edited by E. Moore (3d ed., 1904); the *Divine Comedy* in this volume is based primarily on Witte's text, but Dr. Moore has examined for crucial passages some 200 manuscripts, and has made use of the investigations of other scholars.[2]

Countless allusions, some of them purposely blind, vast accumula-

[1] See H. F. Tozer, *On the Metre of the Divine Comedy* in E. Moore's *Contributions to the Textual Criticism of the Divine Comedy*, 1889, Appendix V; F. Garlanda, *Il verso di Dante*, 1907.

[2] See E. Moore, *Contributions to the Textual Criticism of the Divine Comedy*, 1889.

tions of learning, conciseness and originality of phrase, symbolism, not infrequent obscurity combine to obstruct the understanding of the poem. Some of the difficulties we encounter are due to our remoteness from Dante's world, our different habits of thought, the archaic character of his language. Many of them, however, were as great in his day as in ours, and the need of interpretation was immediately felt. At least eleven commentaries on the whole or a part of the work were composed in the 14th century; from the 15th century we have five. The first commentator certainly known to us by name is Graziolo de' Bambaglioli, who goes back as early as 1324. Within sixteen years after him were written the expositions of Jacopo della Lana, those of Dante's sons Jacopo and Pietro, and the work known as the 'Ottimo Commento.' To the latter part of the 14th century belong the exegeses of Boccaccio, who was appointed to expound the *Commedia* in Florence but carried his explanation no further than the 16th canto, of Benvenuto da Imola, and of Buti. The best informed of all these are perhaps Pietro and Benvenuto. All, however, must be used with caution, as they were deficient in poetic insight, and in historical matters did not always discriminate between fact and invention. The task of interpretation has been carried on, with greater or less intelligence and erudition, down to our own day. To keep well abreast of the Dante literature that now appears from year to year would require a man's whole time. At present three recent, copiously annotated Italian editions are at the disposal of students, those of G. A. Scartazzini (revised by G. Vandelli), T. Casini, and F. Torraca. There is a scholarly English edition, with a translation, by A. J. Butler. Of the numerous English versions, the prose rendering by Norton, the unrhymed poetic translation of Longfellow, and Shadwell's *Purgatory* in four-line stanzas excel in accuracy and literary skill; the easiest to read is that of Cary, in blank verse; Plumtre's, in *terza rima*, combines fidelity with happy phrasing and acceptable versification. Several volumes of general studies are especially to be commended: F. D' Ovidio, *Studii sulla Divina Commedia*, *Il Purgatorio e il suo preludio*, *Nuovi studii danteschi*;

E. Moore, *Studies in Dante*, 3 vols.; K. Vossler, *Die göttliche Komödie. Entwicklungsgeschichte und Erklärung*, 2 vols.; I. Del Lungo, *Dal secolo e dal poema di Dante;* F. Novati, *Con Dante e per Dante;* F. De Sanctis, *Saggi critici* and *Nuovi saggi critici;* K. Witte, *Essays on Dante;* G. A. Scartazzini, *Prolegomeni della Divina Commedia.* For the allegory there is nothing better than F. Flamini, *I significati reconditi della Divina Commedia e il suo fine supremo*, 3 vols. To those who read German, F. X. Kraus's comprehensive and beautifully illustrated *Dante* may be recommended. N. Zingarelli's *Dante* and *La vita di Dante in compendio* contain full and accurate information concerning the poet's life and works. Excellent handbooks are E. G. Gardner's *Dante* and F. Flamini's *Avviamento allo studio della Divina Commedia* (soon to appear in English); C. A. Dinsmore's *Aids to the Study of Dante* is a convenient compilation. E. A. Fay's *Concordance of the Divine Comedy* and E. S. Sheldon and A. C. White's *Concordanza delle opere italiane in prosa e del canzoniere di Dante Alighieri* are invaluable helps. Most useful for reference are P. Toynbee's *Dictionary of Proper Names and Notable Matters in the Works of Dante* and G. A. Scartazzini's *Enciclopedia dantesca.* Works of a more special character are mentioned, as occasion arises, in the preceding and the following pages.[1]

[1] See L. Rocca, *Di alcuni commenti della Divina Commedia*, 1891; E. Moore, *Dante and his Early Biographers*, 1890. For bibliography, see T. W. Koch, *Catalogue of the Dante Collection presented* [to Cornell University] *by Willard Fiske*, 2 vols., 1898–1900.

INFERNO

PRELIMINARY NOTE

ACCORDING to the Ptolemaic system, which was accepted from antiquity down to the time of Copernicus, the earth is a solid, motionless sphere in the centre of the universe. Around it revolve nine transparent hollow spheres, each within its outside neighbor up to the ninth, the Primum Mobile; this imparts its movement to the others and constitutes the frontier of the material world. The eighth heaven carries with it all the fixed stars. Each of those below it contains one heavenly body: the seventh, Saturn; the sixth, Jupiter; the fifth, Mars; the fourth, the Sun; the third, Venus; the second, Mercury; the first, the Moon. They all circle around the earth together, from east to west, once in twenty-four hours. But each heaven except the ninth has, besides, an independent motion of its own, so that it is really moving in a compound curve, made up of two or more different circular revolutions; for instance, the special revolution of the moon is accomplished in a month; that of the sun, in a year. By these sets of motions, and an elaborate system of computation by epicycles, the shifting positions of the sun, moon, and stars were accurately accounted for. Outside the whole universe of matter is the spiritual Paradise, the Empyrean, the true abode of God, the angels, and the blest. The earth is surrounded by air, and between this air and the heaven of the moon is a sphere of fire, toward which all the fire on earth is striving to return. All natural operations on earth are controlled by the movements of the spheres, which are directed by nine orders of angels, or Heavenly Intelligences, created by God for this office.[1]

We have seen that two of the four elements, fire and air, are between the moon and our globe; this body itself consists of the other two, water and earth. The four are arranged in the order of their lightness and their purity. Dante believed the earth to be

[1] See diagrams on p. vi. Cf. Moore, III, 1.

perfectly spherical and about 20,000 miles in circumference. The continents are all grouped on one side, the Hemisphere of Land, which contains not only Europe, Asia, Africa, and some islands, but also the Mediterranean and a part of the great ocean; at the exact centre of this hemisphere is Jerusalem. On the other side is the Hemisphere of Water, in which is no land, except (according to Dante's idea) the mountainous Island of Purgatory, situated precisely opposite Jerusalem. At the top of the mountain of Purgatory is the Garden of Eden. The greater part of the land on the earth's surface is north of the equator, the greater part of the water is south; but the Hemispheres of Land and Water by no means coincide with the northern and southern hemispheres. At the eastern extremity of the Hemisphere of Land is the River Ganges, at the western edge are the Straits of Gibraltar. The Mediterranean was thought to extend over 90°, or a quarter of the earth's circumference; Italy, midway between Gibraltar and Jerusalem, is therefore 45°, or three hours, from each.[1]

Hell is a vast cavity in the form of an inverted cone, whose apex is at the centre of the earth and whose circular base lies beneath the Hemisphere of Land, from which it is shut off by a crust; it extends, apparently, from Italy to mid-Asia. The round declivity of the cavern is broken into nine steps, each of which runs all the way around it; they are of unequal width and separated by cliffs of varying height and steepness. Two enormous precipices divide it roughly into three horizontal sections. A huge wall, circling around one of the terraces, severs the outermost section from the other two, making an Upper and a Lower Hell; the latter is called the City of Dis. On each of the steps is punished some particular kind of sin: in the Upper Hell, the sins of Incontinence, due to lack of self-control; in the Lower Hell, the sins of Violence and Fraud, due respectively to Bestiality[2] and Malice. Violence occupies the middle section, Fraud the lowest. Four steps, or circles, are devoted

[1] See diagrams on p. vi. Cf. Moore, III, 109.
[2] The term 'Bestiality' is taken from Aristotle, but is not used in the Aristotelian sense: its meaning is extended and generalized.

to the four kinds of Incontinence — lust, gluttony, avarice (and prodigality), anger. One circle suffices for Bestiality, but it is divided into three parts, according to the object of the violence: that object may be one's neighbor, one's self, or God. Malice occupies two circles: in the first are the fraudulent, those who deceived persons not bound to them by any special ties; in the second are the traitors, destroyers of their kinsfolk, their countrymen, their guests, or their benefactors. This last circle forms the very floor of Hell; it is a lake of ice at the bottom of a pit; embedded in the middle, at the centre of the earth, is Satan, in whose three mouths are the three arch-traitors, Judas, Brutus, and Cassius. Outside of this general scheme, but within Hell, are three regions inhabited respectively by the souls of sluggards and time-servers, those who were neither good nor bad; the souls of unbaptized children and virtuous pagans; and the souls of heretics. All three are circles, like those mentioned. The first, sometimes called the *Antinferno*, is a vestibule, just inside the entrance, but outside the River Acheron. The second, the Limbus, is within the encircling Acheron, at a lower level than the Vestibule, and forms the first of the nine steps. The third, which constitutes the sixth circle, lies close within the walls of the City of Dis, but is separated from the rest of the Lower Hell by a mighty precipice. The souls in the nether world are, then, arranged in this order: SLUGGISH; *unbaptized;* lustful, gluttonous, avaricious (and prodigal), wrathful; *heretical;* violent; fraudulent, treacherous. The sluggish, the unbaptized, and the heretical lie outside the three great classes — Incontinence, Violence, Fraud. The sluggish are in the Vestibule; all the others are in the nine circles. The punishments vary according to the sins, each being a retaliation for the offence. It must not be forgotten, however, that allegorically the torments represent the sins themselves. 'Wherewith a man sinneth, by the same also shall he be punished' (Wisdom xi, 16). Dante, under the guidance of Reason, ransacks the human heart and learns to know wickedness as it really is, stripped of the false semblance of good. Thus, for instance, the furious blast that eternally wafts the carnal sinners symbolizes irresistible passion;

the ice in which traitors are buried is the coldness of the heart from which all love has been expelled.[1]

In Dante's Purgatory the sinners are arranged as follows: lustful, gluttonous, avaricious (and prodigal), *slothful*, wrathful, *envious*, *proud*. Sloth intervenes between avarice and anger; envy and pride correspond to the violence, deceit, and treachery of Hell; there is no place for paganism or heresy. The difference is a natural one. Hell is the eternal abode of those who die unrepentant; Purgatory is a place of passage for those who, whatever their crimes may have been, die penitent within the Church. In Purgatory we have to do only with man's fundamental evil dispositions, of which the soul is to be cleansed; in Hell souls are tortured for specific acts, the multifarious fruit of these dispositions. The seven capital sins had long been defined by Church writers, and their order, in the main, was pretty well established. In the *Moralia* of Gregory the Great (XXXI, Cap. 45) they are arranged as in Dante. All the sins in the Lower Hell are originally caused by Envy and Pride. Pride, indeed, is the foundation of all sin, inasmuch as sin consists in defying God's law; this doctrine is laid down by St. Cyprian, and recurs in Gregory. Sloth, or lukewarmness in love of the Lord and his creatures, does not lead to acts; in so far as it belongs in the nether world at all, it has its proper place in the Vestibule. The unbaptized are beyond redemption, and therefore Purgatory is denied them. What becomes of repentant heretics we are not told, but we may assume that their penance must be paid in the circle of pride.[2]

The mystic journey occurs in 1300, the year of the great Papal jubilee proclaimed by Boniface VIII. It was a time of general religious enthusiasm, an appropriate moment for a moral awakening. The date is given vaguely in the opening line of the poem, definitely in *Inf.* XXI, 112–4. This latter passage tells us also that the descent was begun on the anniversary of the crucifixion. This may mean March 25, the real date, or Good Friday, the movable Church anniversary. Good Friday in 1300 fell on April 8, and sev-

[1] See diagram on p. vii. Cf. M. Porena, *Commento grafico alla Divina Commedia*, 1902.

[2] Cf. Moore, II, 152; D' Ovidio, 241; M. Scherillo, *Alcuni capitoli della biografia di Dante*, 1896, 396 ff; E. G. Parodi in *Bull.*, XV, 182.

eral references in the poem seem to fit that day better than March 25. *Inf.* XX, 127 and *Purg.* XXIII, 119 inform us that the moon was full the night before; in reality the full moon occurred in 1300 on April 5, but in the ecclesiastical calendar for that year the Paschal full moon was set down for the night of April 7. *Purg.* I, 19–20 represents Venus as the morning star two days later; this was the case in 1301, not in 1300, but here again it was surely the almanac that led Dante astray. There is a peculiar fitness in starting on the downward journey on the evening of Good Friday, when day and hour are conducive to gloom. The ascent of Purgatory, on the other hand, begins at a time when everything suggests hope, the morning of Easter Sunday. Throughout the poem we are apparently to think of sunrise and sunset as occurring at six o'clock. It is, then, on the night of April 7, 1300, that Dante comes to his senses in the dark wood of sin. The next day he spends in trying to struggle out, directing his steps toward the sunlit mountain of righteousness; but three beasts — his evil habits — impede his progress. When all seems lost, Virgil, or Reason, appears and offers to lead him out by another way. They enter Hell at sunset on April 8, and spend the night and the next day in their spiral course, turning always to the left as they descend. In Hell they go by the time of Jerusalem, which is directly over the bottom of the pit. When they reach the centre of the earth, they pass beyond, climbing along the shaggy side of Satan, who is planted there; then, of course, they are under the opposite hemisphere, whose middle point is Purgatory, between which and Jerusalem there is a difference of twelve hours. Dante represents Virgil and himself, therefore, as gaining twelve hours when they pass the earth's centre: they have a new Saturday before them, and they use all that and the following night in climbing out, by a dark, winding passage, to the other side of the earth, where they emerge on the Island of Purgatory on Sunday morning. Dante has turned his back on sin, has laboriously weaned himself from it, and is now ready to clease his soul by penance.[1]

[1] Cf. Moore, III, 177, 372, and *The Time References in the Divina Commedia*, 1887; also, *Modern Language Review*, III, 376. There has been much controversy over the year and the day of the vision. Some astronomers would put it in 1301.

Virgil evidently represents Reason, human understanding, as opposed to Revelation, heavenly intelligence, embodied in Beatrice. One may ask why he was chosen for this function, rather than Aristotle, 'il filosofo,' 'maestro di color che sanno.' For many centuries the *Æneid* had been the best of school-books, the one from which pupils learned grammar, rhetoric, history, mythology. It was expounded literally and allegorically. Its author, at least until Aristotle was discovered in the 12th century, was universally regarded as the wisest man of antiquity, the personification of the best that humanity, without superhuman enlightenment, could achieve; and even in 1300 his fame was scarcely dimmed by the greater glory of the Greek philosopher. Moreover, he had already proved, in the sixth book of the *Æneid*, his competence as a guide to the other world. People generally believed, too, that in his fourth Eclogue he had unconsciously prophesied the coming of Christ. Furthermore, Aristotle was to Dante only a book, while Virgil had been so long a figure in popular and scholarly legend that he had become a distinct personality, one with whom it was a joy to travel and from whom it was anguish to part. Lastly, Dante felt for the master of his childhood, his model in later years, a warm personal gratitude that he was eager to express: [1]

'Tu se' lo mio maestro e il mio autore;
Tu se' solo colui da cui io tolsi
Lo bello stile che m' ha fatto onore.'

[1] Cf. D. Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo*, 1872, 2d ed., 1896; English translation by E. F. M. Benecke, 1895.

CANTO I

ARGUMENT

This canto, which serves as a general introduction to the poem, is more formal in its allegory than those which follow; it affords, in some measure, a key to the whole interpretation. The author has purposely enveloped its incidents in a veil of mystery, which enhances its impressiveness.

It is the night of April 7, the night before Good Friday in the great jubilee year, 1300. Dante, at the age of thirty-five, suddenly becomes aware that he is astray in the dark wood of worldliness. In terror he seeks refuge at the foot of the mountain of rectitude, whose summit is lit by the rising sun. The sun, here and elsewhere, typifies enlightenment, perhaps more specifically, as Flamini suggests, righteous choice, the intelligent use of the free will. When Dante tries to scale the hill, three beasts beset his path, a leopard, a lion, and a wolf — the same creatures that appear in Jer. v, 6: 'Wherefore a lion out of the forest shall slay them, and a wolf of the evenings shall spoil them, a leopard shall watch over their cities: every one that goeth out thence shall be torn in pieces.' Apparently he has a fair prospect of passing the first two, at least the leopard, but the wolf drives him back. These animals evidently stand for Dante's vicious habits, which prevent his reform. The old commentators interpreted them respectively as luxury, pride, and avarice; this would imply (unless we understand the poet's whole experience to be generic, not individual) that Dante's dominant sin was avarice, which is scarcely believable. A modern view, upheld by Flamini, is, in spite of some grave objections, far more satisfactory in itself and more in harmony with the whole structure of the poem. Inasmuch as the sins of Hell fall under the three heads, Incontinence, Violence, and Fraud, it is natural that the beasts should stand for corresponding practices: the ravening wolf is Incontinence of any kind, the raging lion is Violence, the swift and stealthy leopard is Fraud. St. Thomas and Richard of St. Victor, two of Dante's favorite authors, saw in the spotted pard a fit symbol of fraudulence. We may understand, then, from the episode, that Dante could perhaps have overcome the graver sins of Fraud and Violence, but was unable, without heavenly aid, to rid himself of some of the habits of Incontinence.

At this crisis Reason, personified in Virgil, comes, at divine bidding, to the sinner's rescue. He declares that escape is possible only

by another route, which will lead them through Hell: we cannot run away from evil before we know what it really is; a rational understanding of human wickedness must precede reformation. The wolf, he says, is ravaging the world, and will continue to do so until a Hound shall appear and drive it back into Hell, whence it first came. This Hound is obviously a redeemer who shall set the world aright. If we compare this passage with another prophecy in *Purg*. XXXIII, 40–45, it is tolerably clear that he is to be a temporal rather than a spiritual saviour — a great Emperor whose mission it shall be to establish the balance of power, restore justice, and guide erring humanity. Such an Emperor, destined to come at the end of the world, was not unknown to legend; his advent appears to have been sometimes associated with the *annus canicularis*, the period of Sirius, the dog-star. As the prediction was still unfulfilled at the time of writing, Dante naturally made it vague; in fact, he rendered Delphic obscurity doubly obscure by adding the mysterious words 'tra Feltro e Feltro.' We know that the poet entertained great hopes of the youthful leader, Can Grande della Scala, in Dante's last years the chief representative of the Imperial power in Italy. It is possible that he so constructed his prognostication as to make its application to Can Grande evident in case those hopes should be realized, but not obtrusive in case they were not. 'Veltro' easily suggests Can Grande; 'Feltro e Feltro' may point to the towns of Feltre and Monte Feltro. Dante's conception of the just Emperor was perhaps influenced by current stories of the Grand Khan of Tartary, who was said to despise wealth and to live simply in a 'felt' tent, and whose title had a strange likeness to the name of the Imperial Vicar General.

For the allegory of the beasts, see Flam., II, 115 ff. For the Veltro: V. Cian, *Sulle orme del Veltro*, 1897; A. Bassermann, *Veltro, Gross-Chan und Kaisersage*, 1902, and also *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, VIII, 5 (where Bassermann points out a strange similarity between Dante's phraseology and that of a passage in the Alexandrian Greek prophecies called *Oracula Sibyllina*). The interpretation and the coinage of prophecy had a great vogue in the 13th and 14th centuries.

Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita
Mi ritrovai per una selva oscura,
Chè la diritta via era smarrita.

1. In the *Convivio*, IV, xxiv, 30–1, Dante says that 'il colmo del nostro arco è nelli trentacinque.' Cf. Ps. xc (Vulg. lxxxix), 10: 'The days of our years are threescore years and ten.'
2. *Mi ritrovai*, 'I came to my senses.'

Ahi quanto a dir qual era è cosa dura
 Questa selva selvaggia ed aspra e forte, 5
 Che nel pensier rinnuova la paura!
Tanto è amara, che poco è più morte;
 Ma per trattar del ben ch' i' vi trovai,
 Dirò dell' altre cose ch' io v' ho scorte.
I' non so ben ridir com' io v' entrai; 10
 Tant' era pien di sonno in su quel punto
 Che la verace via abbandonai.
Ma poi ch' io fui al piè d' un colle giunto,
 Là dove terminava quella valle
 Che m' avea di paura il cor compunto, 15
Guardai in alto, e vidi le sue spalle
 Vestite già de' raggi del pianeta
 Che mena dritto altrui per ogni calle.
Allor fu la paura un poco queta
 Che nel lago del cor m' era durata 20
 La notte ch' i' passai con tanta pieta.
E come quei che, con lena affannata,
 Uscito fuor del pelago alla riva,
 Si volge all' acqua perigliosa e guata,
Così l' animo mio, che ancor fuggiva, 25
 Si volse indietro a rimirar lo passo
 Che non lasciò giammai persona viva.

7. *Amara* presumably refers to *cosa* in l. 4. — Cf. Ecclus. xli, 1: 'O death, how bitter is the remembrance of thee!'

11. According to St. Augustine, 'The soul's sleep is forgetfulness of God': Flam., II, 204.

16. Cf. Ps. cxxi (Vulg. cxx), 1: 'I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help.'

17. *Pianeta*, the sun, which is just rising. It is the morning of Good Friday, April 8, 1300.

21. *Con tanta piéta*, 'so piteously.' *Piéta*, beside *pietà*, was not uncommon in early Italian.

Poi ch' ei posato un poco il corpo lasso,
Ripresi via per la piaggia diserta,
Sì che il piè fermo sempre era il più basso. 30
Ed ecco, quasi al cominciar dell' erta,
Una lonza leggiera e presta molto,
Che di pel maculato era coperta.
E non mi si partia dinanzi al volto;
Anzi impediva tanto il mio cammino, 35
Ch' io fui per ritornar più volte volto.
Tempo era dal principio del mattino;
E il sol montava su con quelle stelle
Ch' eran con lui, quando l' amor divino
Mosse da prima quelle cose belle; 40
Sì che a bene sperar m' era cagione
Di quella fera alla gaietta pelle
L' ora del tempo e la dolce stagione:
Ma non sì, che paura non mi desse

28. *Ei*, an old form equivalent to *ebbi*, is still kept as an ending in the first person singular of the conditional.

30. *Fermo*, 'still.' This perplexing and much discussed line seems to describe the act of cautiously feeling one's way up a slope (*piaggia*). See, however, F. Flamini in *Giorn. dant.*, X, 145; also D. Guerri in *Giorn. dant.*, XIII, 177; and D'Ovidio[2], 447.

32. *Lonza* is etymologically connected with *ounce* and perhaps with *lynx*. The animal portrayed, however, is evidently the leopard, which Dante probably regarded as identical with the panther; it appears, in fact, that the panther, in Dante's day, was thought to be the female of the leopard (cf. *Giorn. dant.*, XV, 1.)

36. *Volte volto:* the repetition of sound, here as in some other passages, is obviously intentional. It is possible that in this line Dante meant to suggest wearisome iteration — 'I turned again and again and again.' — See F. Cipolla, *Risuonanze nella Divina Commedia*, in *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto*, LX, ii, 31.

38. The sun was in the constellation of Aries, the Ram.

40. It was believed that when the universe was created, the heavenly bodies were placed in their vernal positions. The sun is in the sign of Aries from March 21 to April 20 inclusive.

41. Construe: 'Sì che l' ora del tempo e la dolce stagione m' era (= erano) cagione a bene sperar di quella fera alla gaietta pelle.'

42. Cf. Ovid, *Met.*, III, 669: 'Pictarumque jacent fera corpora pantherarum.'

La vista che mi apparve d' un leone — 45
Questi parea che contra me venesse
Con la test' alta e con rabbiosa fame,
Sì che parea che l' aer ne temesse —
E d' una lupa, che di tutte brame
Sembiava carca nella sua magrezza, 50
E molte genti fe' già viver grame.
Questa mi porse tanto di gravezza,
Con la paura che uscia di sua vista,
Ch' io perdei la speranza dell' altezza.
E quale è quei che volontieri acquista, 55
E giugne il tempo che perder lo face,
Che in tutt' i suoi pensier piange e s' attrista:
Tal mi fece la bestia senza pace,
Che venendomi incontro, a poco a poco
Mi ripingeva là dove il Sol tace. 60
Mentre ch' io rovinava in basso loco,
Dinanzi agli occhi mi si fu offerto
Chi per lungo silenzio parea fioco.
Quand' io vidi costui nel gran diserto,
'Miserere di me,' gridai a lui, 65
'Qual che tu sii, od ombra od uomo certo.'
Risposemi: 'Non uomo, uomo già fui,

46. *Venesse* for *venisse*.
48. Cf. Ovid, *Met.*, XIII, 406: 'Externasque novo latratu terruit auras.'
52. It was believed that when a wolf meets a man, and sees him first, he strikes the man dumb. See R. T. Holbrook, *Dante and the Animal Kingdom*, 1902, p. 116.
60. For this transference of sense notation, cf. *Inf.* V, 28.
63. *Fioco* in Dante seems always to mean 'weak.' The voice of Reason has not been heeded for so long that it comes faintly to the sinner's ear; so the figure of Virgil appears dim. Cf. Verlaine, *Sagesse*, v:

'La voix vous fut connue (et chère?)
Mais à présent elle est voilée.'

See Flam., II, 209; also Moore, I, 181.
65. *Miserere*, 'have mercy upon me': beginning of Ps. li (Vulg. l).

E li parenti miei furon Lombardi,
Mantovani per patria ambedui.
Nacqui *sub Iulio*, ancorchè fosse tardi, 70
E vissi a Roma sotto il buono Augusto,
Al tempo degli Dei falsi e bugiardi.
Poeta fui, e cantai di quel giusto
Figliuol d' Anchise, che venne da Troia,
Poichè il superbo Ilion fu combusto. 75
Ma tu perchè ritorni a tanta noia?
Perchè non sali il dilettoso monte,
Ch' è principio e cagion di tutta gioia?'
'Or se' tu quel Virgilio, e quella fonte
Che spande di parlar sì largo fiume?' 80
Risposi lui con vergognosa fronte.
'O degli altri poeti onore e lume,
Vagliami il lungo studio e il grande amore,
Che m' ha fatto cercar lo tuo volume!
Tu se' lo mio maestro e il mio autore: 85
Tu se' solo colui, da cui io tolsi
Lo bello stile che m' ha fatto onore.

70. *Sub Iulio*, at the time of Julius Cæsar. — *Tardi*, so late that I was identified with the reign of Augustus, and not that of Cæsar. Virgil was barely 26 when Cæsar perished.

72. Repeatedly Virgil makes pathetic but always dignified and reticent allusion to his lack of Christianity and his consequent eternal exclusion from the presence of God.

73. *Æn.*, I, 544-5:

'Rex erat Æneas nobis, quo justior alter
Nec pietate fuit, nec bello major et armis.'

75. *Æn.*, III, 2-3: 'Ceceditque superbum Ilium.' *Met.*, XIII, 108: 'Ilion ardebat.'

84. We learn from *Inf.* XX, 114 that Dante knew the *Æneid* by heart.

85. *Conv.*, IV, vi, 43-5: '*Autore* . . . si prende per ogni persona degna d' essere creduta e obbedita.'

87. *Lo bello stile*, especially the choice of elegant words, an art to be learned by the study of good models. See *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, II, iv and vi. Cf. G. Lisio, *Lo "bello stile" nelle "Rime" e nella "Commedia,"* in *Rivista d' Italia*, VII, ii, 349.

Vedi la bestia, per cui io mi volsi:
  Aiutami da lei, famoso saggio,
  Ch' ella mi fa tremar le vene e i polsi.' 90
'A te convien tenere altro viaggio,'
  Rispose, poi che lagrimar mi vide,
  'Se vuoi campar d' esto loco selvaggio:
Chè questa bestia, per la qual tu gride,
  Non lascia altrui passar per la sua via, 95
  Ma tanto lo impedisce che l' uccide;
Ed ha natura sì malvagia e ria
  Che mai non empie la bramosa voglia,
  E dopo il pasto ha più fame che pria.
Molti son gli animali a cui s' ammoglia, 100
  E più saranno ancora, infin che il veltro
  Verrà, che la farà morir con doglia.
Questi non ciberà terra nè peltro,
  Ma sapienza e amore e virtute,
  E sua nazion sarà tra Feltro e Feltro. 105
Di quell' umile Italia fia salute
  Per cui morì la vergine Cammilla,
  Eurialo, e Turno, e Niso di ferute.
Questi la caccerà per ogni villa,
  Fin che l' avrà rimessa nello inferno, 110

89. *Saggio*, in Dante, is almost equivalent to *poeta*.
90. *Le vene e i polsi* was a standing phrase. Cf. *Inf*. XIII, 63.
100. Rev. xviii, 3: 'For all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her.'
103. *Peltro*, 'pewter,' i. e., money. It was a common belief that wolves eat dirt.
105. This line is intentionally obscure. *Nazion* probably means 'birth.' *Feltro* means 'felt.'
106. *Æn*., III, 522–3: 'Humilemque videmus Italiam.' Virgil meant 'low-lying,' but Dante took the word in a moral sense.
107. Camilla, a warrior virgin who fought against the Trojans: *Æn*., XI.
108. *Æn*., IX, XII. *Ferute* for *ferite*.

Là onde invidia prima dipartilla.
Ond' io per lo tuo me' penso e discerno
Che tu mi segui, ed io sarò tua guida,
E trarrotti di qui per loco eterno,
Ove udirai le disperate strida 115
Di quegli antichi spiriti dolenti,
Che la seconda morte ciascun grida;
E poi vedrai color che son contenti
Nel fuoco, perchè speran di venire,
Quando che sia, alle beate genti: 120
Alle qua' poi se tu vorrai salire,
Anima fia a ciò di me più degna;
Con lei ti lascerò nel mio partire:
Chè quello Imperador che lassù regna,
Perch' io fui ribellante alla sua legge, 125
Non vuol che in sua città per me si vegna.
In tutte parti impera, e quivi regge,
Quivi è la sua città e l' alto seggio:
O felice colui cui ivi elegge!'
Ed io a lui: 'Poeta, io ti richieggio 130
Per quello Dio che tu non conoscesti,
Acciocch' io fugga questo male e peggio,

111. *Dipartilla*=*la dipartì*. Cf. Wisdom ii, 24: 'through envy of the devil came death into the world.'
112. *Me'*=*meglio*.
113. *Segui*=*segua*.
117. 'Each of whom proclaims the second death,' i. e., damnation. The phrase was often used in this sense by theologians. Cf. Rev. xxi, 8: 'the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death'; also Rev. xx, 14. Cf. Dante, Epistola VI, ii, 26 ff.: 'Vos autem divina iura et humana transgredientes . . ., nonne terror secundæ mortis exagitat . . .?'
118. The souls in Purgatory.
122. Beatrice.
126. *Che . . . per me si vegna*=*che io venga*. This curious passive impersonal construction occurs several times, with verbs of coming, going, and staying, in Dante's works: *Inf.* XXVI, 18; *Purg.* XVI, 119–20, XXII, 85, XXV, 109–10; *Conv.*, III, xiii, 95–7.

Che tu mi meni là dov' or dicesti,
  Sì ch' io vegga la porta di san Pietro,
  E color cui tu fai cotanto mesti.' 135
Allor si mosse, ed io li tenni retro.

134. The gate of Purgatory, opened only to the elect.

CANTO II

ARGUMENT

As this canto opens, it is the evening of Good Friday; twelve hours have been consumed in the attempt to scale the mountain, the encounter with the beasts, and the conversation with Virgil. The world is going to rest, and Dante, 'all alone' among the creatures of this earth, is preparing for a stern and fearful task. At this point — really the beginning of the *Inferno*, inasmuch as the first canto is a general introduction to the poem — Dante invokes the Muses, following the example of the great poets of old. Dante probably believed that the Muses, even to the ancients, were only a figure of speech, a metaphor for poetic inspiration or art; so in the *Vita Nuova*, XXV, 88, he says that Horace, calling upon the Muse, 'parla . . . alla sua scienza medesima.'

Doubting his fitness for the proposed journey, Dante recalls his two great predecessors, Æneas and St. Paul, to whom the realms of the departed were revealed. The former, as the sixth book of the *Æneid* relates, visited the lower world; the latter 'was caught up into Paradise,' as he tells us in II Cor. xii. The one listened to prophecies of Rome's future greatness; the other 'heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter.' The experience of Æneas prepared the way for the Empire, the 'alto effetto' or 'mighty result' of his vision; the rapture of St. Paul strengthened the faith which sustains the Church. Dante has no such mission, he merely represents the ordinary run of humanity: why should such a revelation be made to him?

It is worth noting that in introducing the example of Æneas, Dante begins with 'tu dici che . . . ,' and a few lines further on he uses the phrase 'questa andata onde gli dai tu vanto'; so in *Par.* XV, 26, referring to the same episode, he adds 'se fede merta nostra maggior Musa,' meaning Virgil. These expressions seem to imply a mental reservation with regard to the literal veracity of Æneas's adventure. In *Conv.*, II, i, he makes it clear that in poetry truth is to be sought not in the letter but in the allegory, which he calls 'una verità ascosa sotto bella menzogna.' The sixth book of the *Æneid*, then, is allegorically true, in that it records revelations made to the hero, but in its material details it may be regarded as fiction. In *Æn.*, VI, 893–8, Anchises lets his son out through the ivory gate of deceptive dreams; and Servius, in his commentary, explains this incident as an indication that the whole story is an invention.

To strengthen Dante's wavering courage, Virgil assures him that the experience vouchsafed him is a fruit of the Divine Care which watches lovingly over erring man as long as hope is left. In dramatic fashion he tells how Mary, pitying Dante's plight, called upon Lucia (presumably St. Lucia of Syracuse), who, in turn, summoned Beatrice to his aid; she sought out Virgil in the Limbus and sent him to resue the struggling sinner. On hearing this, Dante takes heart again, and follows his master into the earth. The three ladies form a counterpart to the three beasts. The Virgin, here as generally in Christian thought, symbolizes divine Mercy. Lucia has by almost all interpreters been regarded as the emblem of Grace — probably, as her name suggests, Illuminating Grace; inasmuch as Mary describes Dante to Lucia as 'il tuo fedele,' it would seem that our poet, for reasons unknown to us, had held this saint in particular veneration. Beatrice, as we have seen, stands for Revelation, for which Dante's distorted mind must be prepared by Reason. God in his mercy sends forth his illuminating grace to prepare the way for complete revelation, which will ensue as soon as the reawakened voice of reason shall have made the sinner ready to receive it.

For the symbolism of the three ladies, see Flam., II, 149 ff. It should be recorded that so distinguished a commentator as Torraca regards Beatrice, Lucia, and Mary as emblems of the three Christian virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity — an interpretation that seems to meet with a fatal obstacle in *Purg.* XXIX, 121–9, where these virtues are manifestly represented by three nymphs.

Lo giorno se n' andava, e l' aer bruno
  Toglieva gli animai che sono in terra
  Dalle fatiche loro ; ed io sol uno
M' apparecchiava a sostener la guerra
  Sì del cammino e sì della pietate, 5
  Che ritrarrà la mente che non erra.
O Muse, o alto ingegno, or m' aiutate !
  O mente, che scrivesti ciò ch' io vidi,
  Qui si parrà la tua nobilitate.
Io cominciai : 'Poeta che mi guidi, 10
  Guarda la mia virtù, s' ella è possente,
  Prima che all' alto passo tu mi fidi.

6. *Mente* here, as very often in Dante, means 'memory.'

Tu dici che di Silvio lo parente,
  Corruttibile ancora, ad immortale
  Secolo andò, e fu sensibilmente. 15
Però se l' avversario d' ogni male
  Cortese i fu, pensando l' alto effetto
  Che uscir dovea di lui, e il chi e il quale,
Non pare indegno ad uomo d' intelletto:
  Ch' ei fu dell' alma Roma e di suo impero 20
  Nell' empireo ciel per padre eletto;
La quale e il quale (a voler dir lo vero)
  Fu stabilito per lo loco santo
  U' siede il successor del maggior Piero.
Per questa andata, onde gli dai tu vanto, 25
  Intese cose che furon cagione
  Di sua vittoria e del papale ammanto.
Andovvi poi lo Vas d' elezïone,
  Per recarne conforto a quella fede
  Ch' è principio alla via di salvazione. 30
Ma io perchè venirvi? o chi 'l concede?
  Io non Enea, io non Paolo sono:
  Me degno a ciò nè io nè altri 'l crede.
Perchè se del venire io m' abbandono,
  Temo che la venuta non sia folle. 35

15. *Immortale secolo*, 'the eternal world,' i. e., the world of disembodied spirit.
17. *I=gli. Pensando*, 'if we consider.'
18. *Il chi e il quale* (*quis et qualis*), 'who and what he was': Father Æneas, founder of Rome.
20. *Alma*, 'revered.'
21. *Empireo ciel*, the Empyrean, the spiritual Heaven, outside the confines of the space and time.
22. *La quale e il quale*, i. e., *Roma* and *impero*.
24. *U'=ove. Maggior Piero*, St. Peter, greatest of Peters or Popes.
28. *Andovvi: vi=ad immortale secolo*, ll. 14-15. *Lo Vas d' elezïone*, 'the Chosen Vessel,' St. Paul: Acts ix, 15.
34. 'If I allow myself to go.'

Se' savio, intendi me' ch' io non ragiono.'
E quale è quei che disvuol ciò che volle,
E per nuovi pensier cangia proposta,
Sì che dal cominciar tutto si tolle,
Tal mi fec' io in quella oscura costa : 40
Perchè pensando consumai la impresa
Che fu nel cominciar cotanto tosta.
'Se io ho ben la tua parola intesa,'
Rispose del magnanimo quell' ombra,
'L' anima tua è da viltate offesa, 45
La qual molte fiate l' uomo ingombra,
Sì che d' onrata impresa lo rivolve,
Come falso veder bestia, quand' ombra.
Da questa tema acciocchè tu ti solve,
Dirotti perch' io venni, e quel che intesi 50
Nel primo punto che di te mi dolve.
Io era tra color che son sospesi,
E donna mi chiamò beata e bella,
Tal che di comandare io la richiesi.
Lucevan gli occhi suoi più che la stella ; 55
E cominciommi a dir soave e piana
Con angelica voce in sua favella :
"O anima cortese Mantovana,
Di cui la fama ancor nel mondo dura,

41. *Consumai*, 'I put an end to.'
44. Cf. *Conv.*, IV, xxvi, 54 ff.: '[la Ragione] lo sprone usa, quando fugge, per lo tornare al loco onde fuggire vuole (e questo sprone si chiama *Fortezza* ovvero *Magnanimità*, la qual virtute mostra lo loco ove è da fermarsi e da pugnare). . . . Quanto *spronare* fu quello, quando esso Enea sostenne solo con Sibilla a entrare nello Inferno . . .!'
45. Cf. *Conv.*, I, xi, 128 ff.: 'lo pusillanimo . . . sempre si tiene meno che non è.'
48. 'As imperfect sight does an animal when it balks.'
51. *Dolve*=*dolse*.
52. *Sospesi*, 'dangling,' i. e., between Heaven and Hell, in Limbus.
58. Virgil was born near Mantua.

E durerà quanto il moto lontana, 60
L' amico mio — e non della ventura —
Nella diserta piaggia è impedito
Sì nel cammin che volto è per paura;
E temo che non sia già sì smarrito
Ch' io mi sia tardi al soccorso levata, 65
Per quel ch' io ho di lui nel Cielo udito.
Or muovi, e con la tua parola ornata,
E con ciò ch' è mestieri al suo campare,
L' aiuta sì ch' io ne sia consolata.
Io son Beatrice, che ti faccio andare; 70
Vegno di loco, ove tornar disio;
Amor mi mosse, che mi fa parlare.
Quando sarò dinanzi al Signor mio,
Di te mi loderò sovente a lui."
Tacette allora, e poi comincia' io: 75
"O donna di virtù, sola per cui
L' umana spezie eccede ogni contento
Da quel ciel che ha minor li cerchi sui,
Tanto m' aggrada il tuo comandamento
Che l' ubbidir, se già fosse, m' è tardi; 80
Più non t' è uopo aprirmi il tuo talento.
Ma dimmi la cagion che non ti guardi
Dello scender quaggiuso in questo centro
Dall' ampio loco ove tornar tu ardi."
"Da che tu vuoi saper cotanto addentro, 85

60. 'And shall last as far into the future as motion,' as long as the revolution of the heavens, by which time is measured, shall endure. Many texts have *mondo* for *moto*.

76. In the *Vita Nuova*, X, 13, Dante calls Beatrice 'regina delle virtu.' Cf. Boethius, *Cons.*, I, Pr. iii: 'O omnium magistra virtutum.'

77. Mankind surpasses everything contained within the sphere of the moon (everything perishable) only through divine revelation, embodied in Beatrice.

Dirotti brevemente," mi rispose,
"Perch' io non temo di venir qua entro.
Temer si dee di sole quelle cose
Ch' hanno potenza di fare altrui male:
Dell' altre no, che non son paurose. 90
Io son fatta da Dio, sua mercè, tale
Che la vostra miseria non mi tange,
Nè fiamma d' esto incendio non m' assale.
Donna è gentil nel ciel, che si compiange
Di questo impedimento ov' io ti mando, 95
Sì che duro giudizio lassù frange.
Questa chiese Lucìa in suo dimando
E disse: 'Or ha bisogno il tuo fedele
Di te, ed io a te lo raccomando.'
Lucìa, nimica di ciascun crudele, 100
Si mosse e venne al loco dov' io era,
Che mi sedea con l' antica Rachele.
Disse: 'Beatrice, loda di Dio vera,
Chè non soccorri quei che t' amò tanto
Che uscìo per te della volgare schiera? 105
Non odi tu la pieta del suo pianto,
Non vedi tu la morte che il combatte
Su la fiumana, ove il mar non ha vanto?'

88. 'We must fear only those things that have power to do one harm.' Cf. Canzone IX, 84: 'Che quegli teme c' ha del mal paura.'

92. The happiness of the blest is not marred by compassion for the damned.

94. The Virgin is not expressly named anywhere in the *Inferno*, Hell being a place where mercy does not enter.

102. Beatrice's seat in Heaven is described in *Par.* XXXII, 8–9. Rachel symbolized the contemplative life.

108. The *fiumana* is perhaps the Acheron, the river of death, which flows beneath Dante's feet. Most commentators understand it as a mere metaphor, signifying the same thing as the *selva*. For a different explanation, see Flam., II, 25; also *Giorn. dant.*, X, 145. If the Acheron is meant, the ocean can rightly be said to have no vaunt over it, as it does not empty into the sea, but runs down through Hell.

Al mondo non fur mai persone ratte
  A far lor pro, nè a fuggir lor danno, 110
  Com' io, dopo cotai parole fatte,
Venni quaggiù dal mio beato scanno,
  Fidandomi del tuo parlare onesto,
  Che onora te e quei che udito l' hanno."
Poscia che m' ebbe ragionato questo, 115
  Gli occhi lucenti lagrimando volse;
  Per che mi fece del venir più presto.
E venni a te così, com' ella volse;
  Dinanzi a quella fiera ti levai
  Che del bel monte il corto andar ti tolse. 120
Dunque che è? perchè, perchè ristai?
  Perchè tanta viltà nel core allette?
  Perchè ardire e franchezza non hai?
Poscia che tai tre donne benedette
  Curan di te nella corte del cielo, 125
  E il mio parlar tanto ben t' impromette?'
Quali i fioretti dal notturno gelo
  Chinati e chiusi, poi che il Sol gl' imbianca,
  Si drizzan tutti aperti in loro stelo,
Tal mi fec' io di mia virtute stanca; 130
  E tanto buono ardire al cor mi corse
  Ch' io cominciai come persona franca:
'O pietosa colei che mi soccorse,
  E tu cortese, che ubbidisti tosto
  Alle vere parole che ti porse! 135
Tu m' hai con desiderio il cor disposto
  Sì al venir, con le parole tue,

118. *Volse*=*volle*.
122. *Allette*=*aletti*.
132. *Franca*, 'set free.'

Ch' io son tornato nel primo proposto.
Or va, che un sol volere è d' ambedue :
Tu duca, tu signore, e tu maestro.' 140
Così gli dissi ; e poichè mosso fue,
Entrai per lo cammino alto e silvestro.

CANTO III

ARGUMENT

A SOLEMN inscription over the open gate of Hell arouses Dante's apprehensions, but he is led on by his master into a place full of darkness and the confused wail of countless tortured souls. The absence of light — natural enough in the interior of the earth — symbolizes the spiritual blindness of the sinner. The poet continually makes effective use of it in his larger pictures, but does not allow it to interfere with his treatment of detail; there is always assumed to be some infernal glow that enables him to discern as much as he needs to see.

The part of the lower world on which they enter is the abode of the lukewarm, who were neither good nor bad, and contributed nothing to society. Here, presumably, are to be found those who were given over to acedia, or sloth, one of the seven capital sins. To one of Dante's intense activity and positiveness of judgment these are the most contemptible of all creatures. To him they are as the Laodiceans, 'neither cold nor hot.' 'So then,' says Rev. iii, 16, 'because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth.' Both Heaven and Hell reject them. Not one of them does Dante mention by name. Their punishment describes them: as he who will attach himself to neither party must be continually shifting sides, the lukewarm are depicted eternally rushing to and fro after an aimlessly dodging banner; as he who loves his ease is more annoyed by trifles than is the magnanimous man by severe trials, we see the sluggards tormented by flies and wasps, which seem to them worse than any other punishment.

Between this vestibule and the real Hell flows the Acheron, whose bank is crowded with lost souls ready to be ferried over by Charon, the ancient boatman. By him, as by most of the spirits whom he meets in Hell, Dante is immediately recognized as a living man; although these uncorporeal creatures have all the appearance of bodies, can be seen, heard, and (in Hell) even touched, and possess the same senses as those in the flesh, there are certain tokens by which a genuine live body can be distinguished from them. Charon, moreover, discerns — perhaps by virtue of his office — that Dante is one of the elect, and therefore refuses to carry him in his boat. Divine intervention mysteriously helps the poet on his way. A sudden earthquake, similar to that which preceded the descent of Christ, frightens Dante into a swoon; and when he recovers con-

sciousness, he is on the other side of Acheron, at the edge of the abyss. Thus the sinner who is trying to better himself, and meets apparently insuperable obstacles, is carried past them, he knows not how, by a higher power.

For a discussion of the infernal darkness, see G. B. Grassi, *Le tenebre nell' "Inferno" di Dante*, in *Giorn. dant.*, XII, 1. The punishment of the lukewarm by flies and wasps may be compared to the plague of locusts described in Rev. ix, 3–6.

PER ME SI VA NELLA CITTÀ DOLENTE,
PER ME SI VA NELL' ETERNO DOLORE,
PER ME SI VA TRA LA PERDUTA GENTE.
GIUSTIZIA MOSSE IL MIO ALTO FATTORE;
FECEMI LA DIVINA POTESTATE, 5
LA SOMMA SAPIENZA E IL PRIMO AMORE.
DINANZI A ME NON FUR COSE CREATE
SE NON ETERNE, ED IO ETERNO DURO.
LASCIATE OGNI SPERANZA VOI CH' ENTRATE!

Queste parole di colore oscuro 10
Vid' io scritte al sommo d' una porta;
Per ch' io: 'Maestro, il senso lor m' è duro.'
Ed egli a me, come persona accorta:
'Qui si convien lasciare ogni sospetto;

5. Hell was made by the triune God — Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or Power, Wisdom, and Love.

7. 'In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form, and void' (Gen. i, 1–2). At this point, apparently, Hell was created for the rebellious angels, who sinned almost as soon as they were made. Cf. Mat. xxv, 41: '. . . everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.' The story of the revolt and fall of the angels belongs to very early Christian and even to pre-Christian tradition. It is recorded distinctly in II Peter, ii, 4 and Jude 6, more obscurely in Rev. xii, 9. Tertullian and St. Augustine refer to it, and it is narrated in full by Cassian (4th and 5th centuries) in his *Collationes*, ch. viii–xi. Cf. *Conv.*, II, vi, 95 ff.: 'Dioo che di tutti questi Ordini [di angeli] si perderono alquanti tosto che furono creati, forse in numero della decima parte; alla quale restaurare fu l' umana natura poi creata.' See, further, the argument at the head of Canto XXXIV.

8. On the Judgment Day, when all the wicked shall have been consigned to Hell, it will be sealed up, and will remain unchanged forever.

14. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 26: 'Nunc animis opus, Ænea, nunc pectore firmo.'

Ogni viltà convien che qui sia morta. 15
Noi siam venuti al loco ov' io t' ho detto
Che tu vedrai le genti dolorose,
Ch' hanno perduto il ben dell' intelletto.'
E poi che la sua mano alla mia pose,
Con lieto volto, ond' io mi confortai, 20
Mi mise dentro alle segrete cose.
Quivi sospiri, pianti ed alti guai
Risonavan per l' aer senza stelle,
Per ch' io al cominciar ne lagrimai.
Diverse lingue, orribili favelle, 25
Parole di dolore, accenti d' ira,
Voci alte e fioche, e suon di man con elle,
Facevano un tumulto, il qual s' aggira
Sempre in quell' aria senza tempo tinta,
Come la rena quando a turbo spira.. 30
Ed io, ch' avea d' orror la testa cinta,
Dissi : 'Maestro, che è quel ch' i' odo?
E che gent' è, che par nel duol sì vinta?'
Ed egli a me : 'Questo misero modo
Tengon l' anime triste di coloro 35
Che visser senza infamia e senza lodo.
Mischiate sono a quel cattivo coro
Degli angeli che non furon ribelli
Nè fur fedeli a Dio, ma per sè foro.
Cacciarli i Ciel per non esser men belli ; 40

18. The vision of God.
22. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 557–8:

'Hinc exaudiri gemitus, et sæva sonare
Verbera : tum stridor ferri tractæque catenæ.'

31. Cf. *Æn.*, II, 559 : 'At me tum primum sævus circumstetit horror.'
37. Such neutral angels are mentioned in a Syriac version of the *Apocalypse of St. Paul*, and they appear again, in the form of birds, on one of the islands visited by St. Brendan.
40. *Cacciarli = li cacciarono.*

Nè lo profondo inferno gli riceve,
Chè alcuna gloria i rei avrebber d' elli.'
Ed io: 'Maestro, che è tanto greve
A lor, che lamentar gli fa si forte?'
Rispose: 'Dicerolti molto breve. 45
Questi non hanno speranza di morte,
E la lor cieca vita è tanto bassa
Che invidiosi son d' ogni altra sorte.
Fama di loro il mondo esser non lassa,
Misericordia e giustizia gli sdegna. 50
Non ragioniam di lor, ma guarda e passa.'
Ed io, che riguardai, vidi una insegna,
Che girando correva tanto ratta
Che d' ogni posa mi pareva indegna;
E dietro le venia sì lunga tratta 55
Di gente ch' i' non avrei mai creduto
Che morte tanta n' avesse disfatta.
Poscia ch' io v' ebbi alcun riconosciuto,
Vidi e conobbi l' ombra di colui
Che fece per viltà lo gran rifiuto. 60
Incontanente intesi, e certo fui,
Che quest' era la setta dei cattivi
A Dio spiacenti ed ai nemici sui.
Questi sciaurati, che mai non fur vivi,

42. The guilty might derive some satisfaction from comparing themselves with these.

52. *Insegna*, 'banner.'

54. *Indegna*, probably for *indegnata*, 'disdainful.'

60. Without much doubt this is Celestine V, a pious hermit, who, after a long vacancy of the papal office, was elected Pope in July, 1294, but abdicated five months later, feeling himself physically and mentally unfit. Through his renunciation Boniface VIII, Dante's chief enemy, became Pope. According to Torraca, Celestine (then called Pietro) was in Tuscany in 1280, when Dante may have seen him. He was canonized in 1313.

64. Cf. Rev. iii, 1: 'I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead.'

Erano ignudi e stimolati molto — 65
Da mosconi e da vespe ch' erano ivi.
Elle rigavan lor di sangue il volto,
Che, mischiato di lagrime, ai lor piedi,
Da fastidiosi vermi era ricolto.
E poi che a riguardare oltre mi diedi, — 70
Vidi gente alla riva d' un gran fiume;
Per ch' io dissi: 'Maestro, or mi concedi
Ch' io sappia quali sono; e qual costume
Le fa di trapassar parer sì pronte
Com' io discerno per lo fioco lume.' — 75
Ed egli a me: 'Le cose ti fien conte
Quando noi fermerem li nostri passi
Sulla trista riviera d' Acheronte.'
Allor con gli occhi vergognosi e bassi,
Temendo no 'l mio dir gli fusse grave, — 80
Infino al fiume di parlar mi trassi.
Ed ecco verso noi venir per nave
Un vecchio bianco per antico pelo,
Gridando: 'Guai a voi, anime prave!
Non isperate mai veder lo cielo! — 85
I' vegno per menarvi all' altra riva,
Nelle tenebre eterne, in caldo e in gelo.
E tu che se' costì, anima viva,
Partiti da cotesti che son morti!'
Ma poi ch' ei vide ch' io non mi partiva, — 90
Disse: 'Per altra via, per altri porti

72. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 318–9:

> 'Dic, ait, o virgo, quid vult concursus ad amnem?
> Quidve petunt animæ?'

78. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 295: 'Hinc via Tartarei quæ fert Acherontis ad undas.' — Virgil checks Dante's impatience to know everything at once; as they proceed, Dante's questions will find their due answer.

Verrai a piaggia, non qui, per passare;
Più lieve legno convien che ti porti.'
E il duca a lui: 'Caron, non ti crucciare:
Vuolsi così colà dove si puote 95
Ciò che si vuole, e più non dimandare.'
Quinci fur quete le lanose gote
Al nocchier della livida palude,
Che intorno agli occhi avea di fiamme rote.
Ma quell' anime, ch' éran lasse e nude, 100
Cangiar colore e dibattero i denti,
Ratto che inteser le parole crude.
Bestemmiavano Iddio e lor parenti,
L' umana specie, il luogo, il tempo e il seme
Di lor semenza e di lor nascimenti. 105
Poi si ritrasser tutte quante insieme,
Forte piangendo, alla riva malvagia
Che attende ciascun uom che Dio non teme.
Caron dimonio, con occhi di bragia,
Loro accennando, tutte le raccoglie; 110
Batte col remo qualunque s' adagia.
Come d' autunno si levan le foglie

93. Charon sees that Dante is destined to be carried, after death, to Purgatory in the angel's boat described in *Purg.* II, 10–51.

95. Virgil makes use of this formula on other occasions; cf. *Inf.* V, 23.

97. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 298–300:

> 'Portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat
> Terribili squalore Charon, cui plurima mento
> Canities inculta jacet, stant lumina flamma.'

Charon, like most of the classical guardians retained in Dante's Hell, becomes a demonic figure; his 'fiery eyes' become 'encircled with wheels of flame.'

111. *S' adagia*, 'takes his ease.' Guittone d' Arezzo, in his poem *Ai lasso*, l. 68, uses *v' adagia*, meaning 'suits you.'

112. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 309–10:

> 'Quam multa in sylvis autumni frigore primo
> Lapsa cadunt folia . . . '

The simile is evidently suggested by Virgil, but Dante adds the descriptive 'l' una appresso dell' altra' and the pathetic touch of the last clause. Nearly always, when Dante borrows a simile, he makes it more vivid or more human.

L' una appresso dell' altra, infin che il ramo
Vede alla terra tutte le sue spoglie,
Similemente il mal seme d' Adamo 115
Gittansi di quel lito ad una ad una
Per cenni, come augel per suo richiamo.
Così sen vanno su per l' onda bruna,
Ed avanti che sian di là discese,
Anche di qua nuova schiera s' aduna. 120
'Figliuol mio,' disse il Maestro cortese,
'Quelli che muoion nell' ira di Dio
Tutti convegnon qui d' ogni paese;
E pronti sono a trapassar lo rio,
Chè la divina giustizia gli sprona 125
Sì che la tema si volge in disio.
Quinci non passa mai anima buona;
E però se Caron di te si lagna,
Ben puoi saper omai che il suo dir suona.'
Finito questo, la buia campagna 130
Tremò sì forte che dello spavento
La mente di sudore ancor mi bagna.
La terra lagrimosa diede vento,
Che balenò una luce vermiglia,
La qual mi vinse ciascun sentimento; 135
E caddi, come l' uom cui sonno piglia.

117. 'As a bird comes down at its call,' i. e., the call by which the hunter lures it. The poem is full of figures taken from bird-hunting, the favorite sport of the nobility in the Middle Ages.
126. Any reality seems to them less intolerable than the apprehension.
127. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 563: 'Nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen.'
129. See note on l. 93.
132. *Mente*, 'memory.'

CANTO IV

ARGUMENT

A THUNDER clap announces the consummation of the miracle. Dante finds himself on the brink of the cliff that surrounds the dark abyss. A 'roar of countless wails' greets his ear. At this sound, Virgil, who later in the journey sternly rebukes Dante for his sympathy with the damned, himself turns pale with pity: while Reason, face to face with sin, can feel only abhorrence, it may well be moved to anguish by contemplation of sin's consequences.

The descent of the bank brings the poets to the first circle of Hell, the Limbus. The Church fathers defined the Limbus as an underground place, near Hell and Purgatory, the abode of the souls of unbaptized children and, until the Harrowing of Hell, of the virtuous members of the Old Church; the only punishment is exile from God's presence; the patriarchs were cheered by hope of ultimate rescue. Salvation can be won only through faith in Christ: the ancient Hebrews believed in Christ to come, Christians believe in Christ already descended and arisen. Admission to community with Christ, which redeems man from original sin, must be sanctified by prescribed rites — in Christian times by baptism.

After the crucifixion Christ went down into Hell, — breaking the gates, which have ever since remained open, — and took from Limbus the souls of the worthy people of the Old Testament. The doctrine of the Harrowing of Hell is foreshadowed in Messianic tradition. In the Bible only passing references to it are to be found: as in Ephesians iv, 9; I Epistle of Peter iii, 19 and iv, 6; also, according to St. Augustine, in Ps. cvii (Vulgate cvi), 14. It is mentioned in the apocryphal Gospel of Peter and described in the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus.

It remained for Dante to place in his Limbus the souls of virtuous pagans. These, as they had never believed in Christ, were not saved, but remained with the unbaptized infants. Only Cato of Utica, who appears in the first canto of the *Purgatorio*, was apparently released, and is working out his salvation on the Island of Purgatory; how his entrance into the Church is to be effected, we are not told. It is interesting to note that in the *Æneid*, VI, 426–9, the children are on the outer edge of the lower world — 'infantumque animæ flentes in limine primo.'

Dante's Limbus is shrouded in darkness, and the air quivers with sighs. Such is the life of those devoid of true knowledge of

God: their minds are enveloped in ignorance, and their hearts are full of a vague longing forever unsatisfied. But those among them who combine wisdom with virtue are illumined by mortal intelligence — a light dim compared with the vision of God, but bright beside the obscurity in which their less gifted fellows dwell. The state of the heathen sages of old is symbolized by the 'nobile castello,' the Palace of Wisdom (or, as some understand it, of Fame), where the great souls congregate, 'neither happy nor sad,' enjoying the companionship of their peers and the light of human knowledge. Dante's description of them is reminiscent of Virgil's Elysian Fields in *Æn.*, VI, 637 ff.

For a discussion of the Limbus, see M. Scherillo in *Bull.*, VIII, 1; for the palace, A. Fiammazzo, *Intorno al "Nobile Castello"* in *Giorn. dant.*, VIII, 25; for the descent of Christ into Hell, M. Dods, *Forerunners of Dante*, 1903, pp. 83 ff.

Ruppemi l' alto sonno nella testa
  Un greve tuono, sì ch' io mi riscossi,
  Come persona che per forza è desta;
E l' occhio riposato intorno mossi,
  Dritto levato, e fiso riguardai 5
  Per conoscer lo loco dov' io fossi.
Vero è che in su la proda mi trovai
  Della valle d' abisso dolorosa,
  Che tuono accoglie d' infiniti guai.
Oscura, profond' era e nebulosa 10
  Tanto che, per ficcar lo viso al fondo,
  Io non vi discerneva alcuna cosa.
'Or discendiam quaggiù nel cieco mondo,'
  Cominciò il poeta tutto smorto;
  'Io sarò primo, e tu sarai secondo.' 15
Ed io, che del color mi fui accorto,

2. *Tuono*, probably the peal which followed the lightning of III, 134. Inasmuch as lines 2 and 3 point to a sudden noise, this 'thunder' can hardly be identical with that of l. 9.
4. *Riposato*, recovered from the dazzling effect of the flash.
9. In the *Visio S. Pauli* there is a 'tonitruum' of groans and sighs.
11. *Per ficcar*, 'however intently I fixed.'

Dissi: 'Come verrò, se tu paventi,
Che suoli al mio dubbiare esser conforto?'
Ed egli a me: 'L' angoscia delle genti
Che son quaggiù, nel viso mi dipigne 20
Quella pietà che tu per tema senti.
Andiam, chè la via lunga ne sospigne.'
Così si mise, e così mi fe' entrare
Nel primo cerchio che l' abisso cigne.
Quivi, secondo che per ascoltare, 25
Non avea pianto, ma' che di sospiri,
Che l' aura eterna facevan tremare.
Ciò avvenia di duol senza martiri
Ch' avean le turbe, ch' eran molte e grandi,
D' infanti e di femmine e di viri. 30
Lo buon Maestro a me: 'Tu non dimandi
Che spiriti son questi che tu vedi?
Or vo' che sappi, innanzi che più andi,
Ch' ei non peccaro: e s' elli hanno mercedi,
Non basta, perchè non ebber battesmo, 35
Ch' è parte della fede che tu credi.
E se furon dinanzi al Cristianesmo,
Non adorar debitamente Dio:
E di questi cotai son io medesmo.
Per tai difetti, non per altro rio, 40
Semo perduti, e sol di tanto offesi
Che senza speme vivemo in disio.'

25. *Secondo che*, 'as far as one could judge.'
26. *Ma' che*, 'except.' *Ma'*, from Latin *magis*, is equivalent to *più*.
33. *Andi*=*vada*. Virgil will not have Dante suppose for a moment that his companions in Limbus have been evildoers.
38. *Adorar*=*adorarono*.
40. *Rio*, 'crime.'
41. *Semo*, equivalent to *siamo*, was common in early Italian.
42. In Dante's time the ending *-emo*, in the first person plural of verbs of the second and third conjugations, had not yet been quite supplanted by *-iamo*.

Gran duol mi prese al cor quando lo intesi,
Perocchè gente di molto valore
Conobbi che in quel limbo eran sospesi. 45
'Dimmi, Maestro mio, dimmi, Signore,'
Comincia' io, per voler esser certo
Di quella fede che vince ogni errore:
'Uscicci mai alcuno, o per suo merto
O per altrui, che poi fosse beato?' 50
E quei, che intese il mio parlar coperto,
Rispose: 'Io era nuovo in questo stato,
Quando ci vidi venire un possente
Con segno di vittoria coronato.
Trasseci l' ombra del primo parente, 55
D' Abel suo figlio, e quella di Noè,
Di Moïsè legista e ubbidiente;
Abraam patriarca, e David re,
Israel con lo padre e co' suoi nati
E con Rachele, per cui tanto fe', 60
Ed altri molti; e fecegli beati.
E vo' che sappi che, dinanzi ad essi,
Spiriti umani non eran salvati.'

48. As soon as Dante learns that Virgil's soul dwells in Limbus, he is eager to receive from this witness corroboration of the doctrine of the descent of Christ into Hell.
52. Virgil died in the year 19 B. C.
53. Christ is never named in the *Inferno*.
56. *Noè, re, fe'* (ll. 56, 58, 60) form oxytonic or 'masculine' rhymes, called *rime tronche*. Such lines have, as printed and as now pronounced, only ten syllables each, instead of eleven. It is likely, however, that Dante pronounced *Noèe, rèe, fèe*.
58. Cf. Gen. xvii, 5: 'thy name shall be Abraham, for a father of many nations have I made thee.'
59. *Israel*, Jacob; *lo padre*, Isaac; *e suoi nati*, his twelve children.
60. To win Rachel, Jacob served Laban twice seven years: Gen. xxix, 18–28.
63. Before the descent of Christ all human souls went, if bad, to Hell, if good, to Limbus. Since that time Christian souls penitent at the moment of death have gone to Purgatory.

Non lasciavam l' andar perch' ei dicessi,
Ma passavam la selva tuttavia — 65
La selva, dico, di spiriti spessi.
Non era lunga ancor la nostra via
Di qua dal sonno, quand' io vidi un foco
Ch' emisperio di tenebre vincia.
Di lungi v' eravamo ancora un poco, 70
Ma non sì ch' io non discernessi in parte
Che onrevol gente possedea quel loco.
'O tu che onori e scienza ed arte,
Questi chi son, ch' hanno cotanta onranza
Che dal modo degli altri li diparte?' 75
E quegli a me: 'L' onrata nominanza,
Che di lor suona su nella tua vita,
Grazia acquista nel ciel che sì gli avanza.'
Intanto voce fu per me udita:
'Onorate l' altissimo poeta; 80
L' ombra sua torna, ch' era dipartita.'
Poichè la voce fu restata e queta,
Vidi quattro grand' ombre a noi venire;
Sembianza avevan nè trista nè lieta.
Lo buon Maestro cominciò a dire: 85

64. *Dicessi*=*dicesse*. Early usage hesitated between final *i* and *e* in many verb forms.

68. *Sonno*, the swoon of l. 1. Some texts have *sommo*, the 'proda della valle d' abisso' of ll. 7–8.

69. A light radiates up in all directions from the Castle, forming a hemisphere of brightness over and about it. *Vincia* is generally understood as the imperfect of *vincere*, i. e., 'overcame'; the ending *-ia* for *-ea* or *-eva* was common. Torraca, however, regards it as the imperfect of *vincire*, 'to bind,' and makes *emisperio* the subject: 'which a hemisphere of darkness enclosed.'

72. *Onrevol*, *onranza* — more commonly *orrevole*, *orranza* — are contracted forms of *onorevole*, *onoranza*. Note the repetition of *onore* and its derivatives in ll. 72, 73, 74, 76, 80, 93, 100.

76. God allows the intelligence, by the good use of which they won such renown on earth, to remain with them in the other world.

79. We are not told which of the spirits utters the greeting to Virgil.

'Mira colui con quella spada in mano,
Che vien dinanzi a' tre sì come sire.
Quegli è Omero poeta sovrano,
L' altro è Orazio satiro che viene,
Ovidio è il terzo, e l' ultimo Lucano. 90
Perocchè ciascun meco si conviene
Nel nome che sonò la voce sola,
Fannomi onore, e di ciò fanno bene.'
Così vidi adunar la bella scuola
Di quei signor dell' altissimo canto, 95
Che sopra gli altri com' aquila vola.
Da ch' ebber ragionato insieme alquanto,
Volsersi a me con salutevol cenno ;
E 'l mio Maestro sorrise di tanto.
E più d' onore ancora assai mi fenno ; 100
Ch' esser mi fecer della loro schiera,
Sì ch' io fui sesto tra cotanto senno.
Così n' andammo infino alla lumiera,
Parlando cose che il tacere è bello,

86. Homer is depicted with a sword because he sang of arms. According to *Vulg. El.*, II, ii, the three best themes of poetry are love, arms, and righteousness.

88. Dante did not know Homer directly. The reputation of the latter as 'sovereign poet' must have survived in school tradition. In the *Ars Poetica*, 73–4, Horace says:

'Res gestæ regumque ducumque et tristia bella
Quo scribi posset numero, monstravit Homerus.'

A passage in *Vita Nuova*, XXV, 88–92, suggests that Dante may have formed his impression of Homer, in part, through Horace. It is noteworthy that the ancient poets thus grouped in the *Inferno* are cited together in the same chapter of the *Vita Nuova*. Dante was thoroughly familiar with Virgil, Ovid, and Lucan. Another ancient poet whom he had read much, Statius, appears in Purgatory.

89. The *Odes* and *Epodes* were probably unknown to Dante. In the *Ars Poetica*, 235, Horace speaks of himself as a writer of satire.

93. They do well to honor in me the name of poet, which they all share.

100. *Fenno* = *fecero*.

104. Things appropriate to that time and place, but not to the present poem.

Sì com' era il parlar colà dov' era. 105
Venimmo al piè d' un nobile castello,
Sette volte cerchiato d' alte mura,
Difeso intorno da un bel fiumicello.
Questo passammo come terra dura.
Per sette porte intrai con questi savi; 110
Giugnemmo in prato di fresca verdura.
Genti v' eran con occhi tardi e gravi,
Di grande autorità ne' lor sembianti;
Parlavan rado, con voci soavi.
Traemmoci così dall' un de' canti 115
In loco aperto, luminoso ed alto,
Sì che veder si potean tutti quanti.
Colà, diritto sopra il verde smalto,
Mi fur mostrati gli spiriti magni,
Che del vederli in me stesso n' esalto. 120
Io vidi Elettra con molti compagni,
Tra' quai conobbi Ettore ed Enea,
Cesare armato con gli occhi grifagni.
Vidi Cammilla e la Pentesilea;
Dall' altra parte vidi il re Latino, 125

107. The Palace of Wisdom is surrounded by seven walls representing the four moral virtues (prudence, temperance, fortitude, and justice) and the three intellectual virtues (understanding, knowledge, and wisdom). The stream may well stand for eloquence.

110. The gates probably symbolize the seven liberal arts of the *trivium* (grammar, logic, rhetoric) and the *quadrivium* (music, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy), which afford access to knowledge.

112. Cf. *Purg.* VI, 63: 'E nel muover degli occhi onesta e tarda.'

121. Electra, daughter of Atlas, and mother of Dardanus, the founder of Troy: *Æn.*, VIII, 134–5. Cf. *Mon.*, II, iii, 68–9: 'avia vetustissima, Electra.'

123. Cæsar, the founder of the Empire, is briefly described as 'in arms, with hawk-like eyes.' Nowhere in the poem do we find a long description or discussion of him. While he deserved, by virtue of his great political act, a place in history beside that of Christ, he was probably, as a tyrant and the opponent of Cato, distasteful to Dante.

124. Camilla, a warrior maiden: *Æn.*, XI, 498 ff. Penthesilēa, queen of the Amazons: *Æn.*, I, 490 ff.

125. Cf. *Æn.*, VII, 45 ff.

Che con Lavinia sua figlia sedea.
Vidi quel Bruto che cacciò Tarquino,
Lucrezia, Julia, Marzia e Corniglia;
E solo in parte vidi il Saladino.
Poi che innalzai un poco più le ciglia, 130
Vidi il Maestro di color che sanno,
Seder tra filosofica famiglia.
Tutti lo miran, tutti onor gli fanno.
Quivi vid' io Socrate e Platone,
Che innanzi agli altri più presso gli stanno. 135
Democrito, che il mondo a caso pone,
Diogenès, Anassagora e Tale,
Empedoclès, Eraclito e Zenone;
E vidi il buono accoglitor del quale,
Dioscoride dico; e vidi Orfeo, 140
Tullio e Livio e Seneca morale,

127. The other Brutus is in the centre of Hell. *Tarquino*, for *Tarquinio*, was regular in early Italian.

128. Lucretia, wife of Collatinus; Julia, daughter of Cæsar, wife of Pompey; Martia, wife of Cato of Utica (cf. *Purg.* I, 79; *Conv.*, IV, xxviii, 97 ff.); Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi.

129. Saladin, the model of chivalry, was sultan of Egypt and Syria in the 12th century. He is different in race and religion from those mentioned hitherto.

131. Aristotle, whom Dante often calls simply 'il Filosofo,' and to whom he repeatedly refers in terms of the deepest admiration. Aristotle was known to Dante in two Latin translations, one of which had been made by, or for, St. Thomas.

136. Democritus, known to Dante probably through Cicero.

137. Anaxagoras, cited by Aristotle. Thales, one of the seven wise men of Greece: *Conv.*, III, xi, 39.

138. Empedocles, to whose doctrine reference is made in *Inf.* XII, 42. Heraclītus, mentioned by Aristotle. Zeno, stoic philosopher: *Conv.*, IV, vi, 84.

139. Dioscorides wrote a treatise on plants and their properties: *quale* here means 'qualities' (of plants).

140. Orpheus, considered as a philosopher: *Conv.*, II, i, 25–34.

141. Tully, or Cicero, was one of the first philosophers that Dante studied: *Conv.*, II, xiii, 17 ff.; see also *Inf.* XI, 22–4. Livy wrote philosophical works, mentioned in a letter of Seneca to Lucilius; most texts have Lino, i. e., Linus, an imaginary Greek poet. Seneca the moralist was thought to be a different person from the dramatist: see P. Toynbee in *Giorn. stor.*, XXV, 334.

Euclide geometra e Tolommeo,
  Ippocrate, Avicenna e Galieno,
  Averrois, che il gran comento feo.
Io non posso ritrar di tutti appieno, 145
  Perocchè sì mi caccia il lungo tema
  Che molte volte al fatto il dir vien meno.
La sesta compagnia in due si scema;
  Per altra via mi mena il savio duca,
  Fuor della queta nell' aura che trema; 150
E vengo in parte ove non è che luca.

142. Ptolemy, the great geographer and astronomer of Alexandria, who lived in the second century B. C.

143. Hippocrates, Avicenna, Galen: three famous physicians of Greece, Turkestan, and Mysia.

144. Averrhoës, a Spanish Moor of the 12th century, was a celebrated scholar and philosopher. Having read the works of Aristotle in ancient Syriac translations, he composed three commentaries on them; one of these, the 'gran commento,' was followed by St. Thomas. As he inclined towards pantheism and materialism, he was regarded in the 14th century as the master of free-thinkers. — *Feo* = *fece*.

148. The company of six dwindles to two — Virgil and Dante.

150. Out of the peaceful atmosphere of the Palace into the air that quivers with sighs: cf. ll. 26–7.

151. *Ove non è che luca,* 'where there is nothing shining': beyond the brightness of the Palace.

CANTO V

ARGUMENT

In this canto are found several striking similes drawn from bird-life, which Dante loved to depict. The second circle, with its wind-wafted spirits, offers fit opportunity for these portrayals of starlings, cranes, and doves. Cranes are put to a like use by Virgil in *Æn.*, X, 264–6:

> 'Quales sub nubibus atris
> Strymoniæ dant signa grues, atque æthera tranant
> Cum sonitu, fugiuntque Notos clamore secundo.'

Torraca quotes from the *Tesoro* of Brunetto Latini as follows: 'Gru sono uccelli che volano a squadre, a modo di cavalieri che vanno in battaglia.' The eager flight of the dove to her young was noted later by Rabelais (*Pantagruel*, IV, iii): 'Il n'est que vol de pigeon, quand il a œufz ou petitz, pour l'obstinée sollicitude en lui par nature posée de recourir et secourir ses pigeonneaux.'

The descent from Limbus to the second circle is not described; we have no means of conjecturing the size or the steepness of the cliff. The journey through Hell being physically impossible, Dante purposely refrains from furnishing particulars that might destroy the illusion, while abounding in such details as serve to heighten it. As the pit narrows progressively toward the bottom, the terraces correspondingly decrease in circumference, but the penalties become more and more severe. At one point in the round of this shelf is a break, where the rock has fallen. When Dante mentions this *ruina*, in l. 34, he offers no explanation: shrieks and curses are redoubled here, but we know not why. Our suspense lasts until we reach Canto XII, ll. 31–45. There we are told that when Christ descended into Hell, his coming was preceded by an earthquake, which shook down the walls of the abyss in three spots. Those broken places lie beside the circle of the pagans, just beyond the enclosure of the heretics, and over the hypocrites by whom Christ had been condemned (XXI, 112–4; XXIII, 133–8) — all close to the abodes of those who had offended the Saviour by disbelief in his mission. In each case the word 'ruin' is used. The sight of the first *ruina* moves the souls of the second circle to lamentation, because it reminds them of the time when the neighboring Hebrew spirits in the Limbus were rescued, while all the other souls in Hell were left to eternal torment.

Most of the fallen angels, or fiends, are in the lower Hell; a few, however, appear as presiding genii outside the City of Dis: so Charon, Cerberus, Plutus, Phlegyas, and, at the threshold of the second circle, Minos, the judge. Both theologians and simple folk were prone to look upon the heathen gods as demons who had beguiled men into their worship. It is not strange, therefore, to find in a Christian Hell many classic personages, especially such as were already associated with the lower world. Dante did not treat all the pagan divinities alike; if he depicted Plutus as a devil, the Muses and Apollo were to him simply allegorical figures, while Jove apparently represented the ancient poets' dim conception of the Supreme Being. Minos, the great king and legislator of Crete, holds in the 11th book of the *Odyssey* the noble office of judge of the dead. In the *Æneid*, VI, 432–3, though briefly sketched, he retains the same honorable function:

> 'Quæsitor Minos urnam movet: ille silentum
> Conciliumque vocat, vitasque et crimina discit.'

In Dante he has become a hideous demon, arbiter of the damned — the symbol, it would seem, of the guilty conscience.

The second circle punishes *lussuria*, or lust, the first of the sins of Incontinence. The luxurious are forever blown about in the darkness by stormy blasts, typifying the blind fury of passion. In some previous tales of Hell a wind torments evildoers, notably in the *Visio Alberici*, XIV, where souls are driven by the fiery breath of a dog and a lion. Dante divests the torment of all grotesqueness, and, indeed, treats the sinners of this class with special consideration. This may be due in part to sympathy, and partly, no doubt, to a sense that their fault is the result of a mistaken following of love, the noblest of human emotions. Theologically speaking, the fate of lost souls should arouse no pity, as the sight of sin should excite only repugnance. But we must remember that the Dante who is visiting Hell is himself still a sinner. Moreover, allegorically interpreted, these harassed souls are men and women loving and suffering on earth; and even the most sinful, as long as they live, are fit objects of compassion.

Compassion, tenderness, sympathetic curiosity, anguish, reach their climax when Dante meets and converses with Francesca da Rimini. This unhappy lady was the daughter of Guido Minore da Polenta, a powerful citizen of Ravenna, and was married to Giovanni di Malatesta da Verrucchio (called Sciancato, or Gian Ciotto), lord of Rimini. Of her love for Paolo, her husband's brother, and the murder of the two by Giovanni, we have no record before Dante, although the event must have been well known. It probably occurred about 1285: in 1282–3 Paolo was in Florence

as Capitano del Popolo, and in 1288 there is evidence of a child born to Giovanni by a second wife. After Francesca's adventure had been made eternally famous by Dante's poem, many fables grew up about it; her fate is still a favorite theme for artists and authors. Of all the episodes in the *Commedia*, this has always been the most popular.

It is not alone the undying passion of Francesca that moves us, but even more her gentleness and modest reticence. In her narrative she names none of the participants; not even her city is called by name. Her identity is revealed by Dante, who, recognizing her, addresses her as 'Francesca.' Everything in her story that could mar our pity is set aside, and nothing remains but the quintessence of love. Amid the tortures of Hell, where all is hatred, her love does not forsake her, and she glories in the thought that she and Paolo shall never be parted.

Should we be inclined to question whether mere impersonal sympathy, however natural and profound, could have sufficed to lead a religious poet, a stern moralist, thus to idealize an adulteress and mitigate her punishment, we might feel ourselves justified in seeking some special reason for his kindliness. As we look through the *Commedia*, we find that in one place or another the exiled poet contrived to pay an appropriate tribute to all those who had befriended him in his need: it was the only return his grateful heart could make. His last and probably his happiest years were spent in Ravenna under the protection of Guido Novello da Polenta, a nephew of our Francesca. Now, we do not know exactly when Dante went to that city, but in any case it was almost certainly at a period later than the time when the *Inferno* was composed. His son Pietro, however, established himself in Ravenna, perhaps as early as 1317, receiving a benefice from Guido's wife; and his daughter Beatrice entered a convent there. It is possible that previous courtesies, of which we have no record, were extended to Dante or his kindred before this *cantica* was completed. There is, then, some slight ground for the supposition that this passage was intended as an incidental homage to Guido's family, a rehabilitation of Francesca's memory. Love, she says, comes to gentle hearts with irresistible force — 'a nullo amato amar perdona.' Had she lived, she would have repented; it was her sudden taking off that damned her. Her fate is contrasted with that of her husband: her soul is one of the highest in Hell; his, one of the lowest.

See A. Graf, *La demonologia di Dante* in his *Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio evo*, 1892–3, II, 79. For Francesca, F. De Sanctis, *Francesca da Rimini* in his *Nuovi saggi critici*, 1893 (6th ed.). For Dante's pity, D'Ovidio, 80–92; Moore, II, 210 ff.; F. Cipolla in the *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto*, LIV, 294.

Così discesi del cerchio primaio
  Giù nel secondo, che men loco cinghia
  E tanto più dolor che pugne a guaio.
Stavvi Minòs orribilmente e ringhia;
  Esamina le colpe nell' entrata, 5
  Giudica e manda secondo che avving[illegible].
Dico che quando l' anima mal nata
  Li vien dinanzi, tutta si confessa;
  E quel conoscitor delle peccata
Vede qual loco d' inferno è da essa; 10
  Cignesi colla coda tante volte
  Quantunque gradi vuol che giù sia messa.
Sempre dinanzi a lui ne stanno molte:
  Vanno a vicenda ciascuna al giudizio;
  Dicono e odono, e poi son giù volte. 15
'O tu, che vieni al doloroso ospizio,'
  Disse Minòs a me, quando mi vide,
  Lasciando l' atto di cotanto uffizio,
'Guarda com' entri, e di cui tu ti fide:
  Non t' inganni l' ampiezza dell' entrare!' 20
  E il duca mio a lui: 'Perchè pur gride?
Non impedir lo suo fatale andare;

4. *Minòs:* in mediæval schools Greek proper names, in the nominative, were very commonly stressed on the last syllable, this having been apparently regarded as the regular Greek accentuation; hence *Cleopatràs*, *Parìs*, *Semiramìs*, and elsewhere *Calliopè*, *Semelè*, etc. For some reason *Cleopatràs*, with an *s*, seems to have been considered the correct form.
6. *Avvinghia*, 'entwines.'
7. *Dico*, 'I mean.'
8. *Li* and *gli* were used interchangeably.
9. *Peccata:* collective feminine plural (originally neuter plural) forms in *-a* were much commoner in Dante's day than now.
19. *Fide* = *fidi*. So, in l. 21, *gride* = *gridi*. The forms in *-e* are the older.
20. Cf. Mat. vii, 13: 'wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction.' Also *Æn.*, VI, 126–7:

'facilis descensus Averni:
Noctes atque dies patet atri janua Ditis.'

21. *Pur* seems to mean *tu pure*, i. e., as well as Charon.

Vuolsi così colà dove si puote
Ciò che si vuole, e più non dimandare.
Ora incomincian le dolenti note 25
A farmisi sentire; or son venuto
Là dove molto pianto mi percote.
Io venni in loco d' ogni luce muto,
Che mugghia come fa mar per tempesta,
Se da contrari venti è combattuto. 30
La bufera infernal, che mai non resta,
Mena gli spirti con la sua rapina;
Voltando e percotendo li molesta.
Quando giungon davanti alla ruina,
Quivi le strida, il compianto e il lamento, 35
Bestemmian quivi la virtù divina.
Intesi che a così fatto tormento
Enno dannati i peccator carnali,
Che la ragion sommettono al talento.
E come gli stornei ne portan l' ali 40
Nel freddo tempo, a schiera larga e piena,
Così quel fiato gli spiriti mali.
Di qua, di là, di giù, di su gli mena;
Nulla speranza gli conforta mai,
Non che di posa, ma di minor pena. 45
E come i gru van cantando lor lai,
Facendo in aer di sè lunga riga,
Così vid' io venir, traendo guai,
Ombre portate dalla detta briga.

23. The same formula was used in III, 95-6.
28. Cf. 'dove il sol tace' in I, 60.
38. *Enno* = *sono*.
40. *Stornei* = *stornelli*.
45. 'I do not say hope of rest, but even hope of less punishment.'
48. Dante was exceedingly fond of the expression *trarre guai*, 'to utter wails.'
49. *Briga*: the strife of conflicting winds, l. 30.

Per ch' io dissi: 'Maestro, chi son quelle 50
Genti che l' aura nera sì gastiga?'
'La prima di color di cui novelle
Tu vuoi saper,' mi disse quegli allotta,
'Fu imperatrice di molte favelle.
A vizio di lussuria fu sì rotta 55
Che libito fe' licito in sua legge,
Per torre il biasmo in che era condotta.
Ell' è Semiramìs, di cui si legge
Che succedette a Nino e fu sua sposa;
Tenne la terra che il Soldan corregge. 60
L' altra è colei che s' ancise amorosa
E ruppe fede al cener di Sicheo;
Poi è Cleopatràs lussurïosa.
Elena vedi, per cui tanto reo
Tempo si volse, e vedi il grande Achille, 65
Che con amore al fine combatteo.
Vedi Paris, Tristano'; e più di mille

53. *Allotta* = *allora*.
54. Semiramis, queen of Assyria, of whom Dante had read in the *Historia* of Paulus Orosius, I, iv. In *Mon.*, II, ix, 27–8, Dante says that Ninus, her husband, 'Asiam totam sibi subegerit.'
56. To excuse her own unnatural passion, 'præcepit . . . quod cuique libitum esset, licitum fieret,' i. e., she made every one's pleasure lawful.
60. The lands in Egypt and Syria which the Sultan now rules. For this use of *corregge*, see Ps. xcv (Vulg.), 10: '*correxit* orbem terræ.'
61. *Altra* here, as very often in Dante, means 'second.' The story of Dido's fatal love for Æneas (and her infidelity to the memory of her dead husband, Sichæus) is told in *Æn.*, IV.
64. Here, and in ll. 65, 67, some texts have *vidi* for *vedi*. With the reading *vidi*, the quotation should close with l. 63. — *Elena*, Helen, 'on whose account so many evil years were spent' in the Trojan war.
66. 'Who fought with love up to the end': the Old French poet, Benoît de Sainte More, in his *Roman de Troie*, developing an allusion on Dares's *Excidium Trojæ*, narrates that Achilles, madly in love with Polyxena, was lured into an ambush, where he perished. See also Servius's Commentary on *Æn.*, III, 322. — *Combatteo* = *combattè*.
67. *Paris*, son of Priam. *Tristano*, Tristram, hero of the most famous mediæval love romance.

Ombre mostrommi, e nominolle, a dito,
Che amor di nostra vita dipartille.
Poscia ch' io ebbi il mio dottore udito 70
Nomar le donne antiche e i cavalieri,
Pietà mi giunse, e fui quasi smarrito.
Io cominciai : 'Poeta, volentieri
Parlerei a que' duo che insieme vanno
E paion sì al vento esser leggieri.' 75
Ed egli a me : 'Vedrai, quando saranno
Più presso a noi ; e tu allor li prega
Per quell' amor che i mena, e quei verranno.'
Sì tosto come il vento a noi li piega,
Mossi la voce : 'O anime affannate, 80
Venite a noi parlar, s' altri nol niega.'
Quali colombe dal disio chiamate,
Con l' ali alzate e ferme, al dolce nido
Vegnon per l' aer dal voler portate,
Cotali uscir della schiera ov' è Dido, 85
A noi venendo per l' aer maligno,
Sì forte fu l' affettüoso grido.
'O animal grazioso e benigno,

68. Some texts have *nominommi*.
69. *Dipartille* = *le dipartì;* the *le* is superfluous.
78. *I* = *li*.
81. *Altri*, 'some one.' God is never named to the damned, nor by them, save in blasphemy.
82. This beautiful simile was doubtless suggested by *Æn.*, V, 213–7:

> 'Qualis spelunca subito commota columba,
> Cui domus et dulces latebroso in pumice nidi,
> Fertur in arva volans, plausumque exterrita pennis
> Dat tecto ingentem : mox aëre lapsa quieto,
> Radit iter liquidum, celeres neque commovet alas.'

Dante, however, while keeping a part of the general picture and a few of the expressions ('sweet nest' and 'motionless wings'), alters the situation, making the dove fly to her nest instead of flying away from it; furthermore, he infuses an entirely new spirit into the figure by his conception of love as the sole power that sustains the mother-bird in her flight.
88. *Animal*, 'living creature.'

Che visitando vai per l' aer perso
Noi che tignemmo il mondo di sanguigno, 90
Se fosse amico il re dell' universo,
Noi pregheremmo lui della tua pace,
Poich' hai pietà del nostro mal perverso.
Di quel che udire e che parlar ti piace
Noi udiremo e parleremo a vui, 95
Mentre che il vento, come fa, si tace.
Siede la terra dove nata fui
Sulla marina dove il Po discende
Per aver pace co' seguaci sui.
Amor, che al cor gentil ratto s' apprende, 100
Prese costui della bella persona

89. *Perso*, 'perse,' a term often used by Dante in the sense of 'dark,' denotes properly 'un colore misto di purpureo e di nero, ma vince il nero': *Conv.*, IV, xx, 14–5.

92. 'Pace' is what Francesca most desires; and she imagines that every one else must crave peace — even the rivers running to the sea, as in l. 99.

95. *Vui*, a southern form for *voi*, was often used in the rhyme by Tuscan poets.

96. In l. 31 the poet tells us that the 'bufera infernal' never rests. But the 'bufera' seems to indicate the whole storm of conflicting blasts: in a single spot the gust may die down for a moment — *come fa*, 'as it now does.'

97. *Terra*, 'city': Ravenna.

99. 'To have peace with its pursuers': the tributaries are conceived as chasing the Po down to the sea.

100. Note the recurrence of *amore* and *amare* in Francesca's speeches, especially the use of *amore* at the beginning of three successive tiercets in ll. 100, 103, 106. — According to the doctrine formulated by the Bolognese poet Guido Guinizelli, who belonged to the generation before Dante, love exists potentially in the noble heart (and there only) from its birth, and is immediately awakened to activity by the sight of a worthy object:

'Al cor gentil ripara sempre Amore,
Come alla selva augello in la verdura,
Nè fe' Amore avanti gentil core,
Nè gentil core avanti Amor, Natura.'

This doctrine was adopted and developed by Dante and his fellow poets of the 'dolce stil nuovo.' So Dante, in the 10th sonnet of the *Vita Nuova:*

'Amore e 'l cor gentil son una cosa,
Siccom' il Saggio in suo dittato pone'

101. Love seized him, Paolo, 'for the fair body that was taken from me'; and 'the way (in which it was taken from me) is still harmful to me,' because, murdered as she was without a chance to repent, she incurred eternal pun-

Che mi fu tolta, e il modo ancor m' offende.
Amor, che a nullo amato amar perdona,
Mi prese del costúi piacer sì forte
Che, come vedi, ancor non mi abbandona. 105
Amor condusse noi ad una morte.
Caïna attende chi vita ci spense.'
Queste parole da lor ci fur porte.
Da che io intesi quelle anime offense,
Chinai 'l viso, e tanto il tenni basso 110
Finchè il poeta mi disse: 'Che pense?'
Quando risposi, cominciai: 'O lasso!
Quanti dolci pensier, quanto disio
Menò costoro al doloroso passo!'
Poi mi rivolsi a loro, e parla' io, 115
E cominciai: 'Francesca, i tuoi martiri
A lagrimar mi fanno tristo e pio.
Ma dimmi: al tempo de' dolci sospiri,
A che e come concedette amore
Che conoscesti i dubbiosi desiri?' 120
Ed ella a me: 'Nessun maggior dolore
Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
Nella miseria; e ciò sa il tuo dottore.

ishment. For this use of *bella persona*, cf. Odo delle Colonne, *Oi llassa namorata*, ll. 17-8:

'La sua persona bella
Tolta m' à gioco e risa.'

103. 'Love, which exempts no loved one from loving in return, seized me for his charms with such might . . .' *Piacer* is used here like the corresponding Provençal word *plazer*, 'attraction,' 'charm.'
107. *Caïna*, the abode of traitors to kindred, at the bottom of Hell, awaits Francesca's husband, Gian Ciotto.
108. *Da lor ci fur porte*, 'were offered us by them,' although they were spoken by Francesca alone.
109. *Offense*=*offese*, 'injured.'
111. *Pense*=*pensi*: cf. l. 19.
112. Evidently there is a pause between question and answer.
123. *Il tuo dottore*, Virgil, who was happy and glorious on earth, and is now condemned to eternal exile.

Ma se a conoscer la prima radice
Del nostro amor tu hai cotanto affetto, 125
Farò come colui che piange e dice.
Noi leggevamo un giorno per diletto
Di Lancilotto, come amor lo strinse;
Soli eravamo e senza alcun sospetto.
Per più fïate gli occhi ci sospinse 130
Quella lettura e scolorocci il viso,
Ma solo un punto fu quel che ci vinse.
Quando leggemmo il disïato riso
Esser baciato da cotanto amante,
Questi, che mai da me non fia diviso, 135
La bocca mi baciò tutto tremante.
Galeotto fu il libro e chi lo scrisse!
—— Quel giorno più non vi leggemmo avante'
Mentre che l' uno spirto questo disse,
L' altro piangeva sì che di pietade 140
Io venni men, così com' io morisse;
E caddi, come corpo morto cade.

127. The French prose romance of Lancelot of the Lake, which tells of the love of the hero for Guinevere, wife of King Arthur.
129. *Sospetto*, 'misgiving.'—In the romance, Lancelot and Guinevere were not alone, as Paolo and Francesca were.
130. *Gli occhi ci sospinse*, 'made our eyes meet.'
133. *Il disïato riso*, i. e., the worshipped lips.
137. Gallehaut was the intermediary who brought Lancelot and Guinevere together; Paolo and Francesca had no such go-between — the book was their Gallehaut, an incentive to sin. Cf. D' Ovidio[3], 527.

CANTO VI

ARGUMENT

For the reason already mentioned, Dante likes to pass lightly over the transitions from one step to another. Thus, when he awakens from his second swoon, he finds himself once more mysteriously transported, this time to the third terrace. Gluttony, the next of the sins of Incontinence, is essentially foul and selfish, and so is fitly symbolized by the cold, slimy filth which constitutes the punishment of the third circle. It is a sin that robs men of their humanity, making them unrecognizable to their friends. Its perfect embodiment is Cerberus, the tormenting genius of the place. This beast, opposing the poets' passage, is offered a double handful of mud, which it eagerly devours. So in the *Æneid*, VI, 417–23, Cerberus is pacified by the Sibyl with a honey-cake:

> 'Cerberus hæc ingens latratu regna trifauci
> Personat, adverso recubans immanis in antro.
> Cui vates, horrere videns jam colla colubris,
> Melle soporatam et medicatis frugibus offam
> Objicit: ille fame rabida tria guttura pandens,
> Corripit objectam, atque immania terga resolvit
> Fusus humi, totoque ingens extenditur antro.'

The substitution of dirt for medicated sweets serves still further to debase greediness.

With one of the souls here confined Dante holds converse. This is Ciacco, a Florentine renowned both for his gluttony and for his cleverness, who figures also in one of Boccaccio's tales, *Decameron*, IX, 8. It is not certain whether *Ciacco* was his real name — perhaps a synonym of Jacopo — or a nickname meaning 'pig'; nor is it known whether he is to be identified with a poet called Ciacco dell' Anguillaia. In response to a question by Dante, this spirit prophesies the approaching victory of the Whites — the *selvaggia* or 'rustic' party — over their opponents, and the ensuing triumph of the Blacks through the connivance of Boniface VIII. In Florence, he further declares, there are only two just men, and they have no influence. Who these two are, we are not told. A comparison with the close of Canzone IX — in which Dante sends his song 'to the three least guilty of our city' — and with *Purg.* XVI, 124–6 (where the only three good men now left in Lombardy are named), makes it likely that the poet had in mind two specific persons; but it is impossible to guess whom he meant.

In ll. 35–6 Dante speaks of walking over the empty shades which look like real people. Throughout Hell the souls, though without weight, are not only visible and audible, but tangible. On the lower slopes of the mountain of Purgatory, however, Dante cannot touch a shade (*Purg.* II, 79 ff.), although two spirits can still embrace (*Purg.* VI, 75); and near the summit one soul apparently cannot clasp another (*Purg.* XXI, 130 ff.). In *Purg.* XXV, 79 ff., we are informed that after death the atmosphere collects around the departed spirit, forming an aerial body, which reflects all the emotions of the soul itself. Although Dante nowhere says so explicitly, it would seem that he chose to regard this airy shape as more substantial in proportion to its proximity to the centre of gravity of the universe (which is also the centre of sin), and more ethereal as it rises above the earth's surface. This conception of the shade appears to be Dante's own, although St. Thomas mentions the power of angels and devils to assume aerial forms.

See M. Scherillo, *Il "Ciacco" della Divina Commedia*, in *Nuova Antologia* (1901), XCIV, 427; cf. *Bull.*, X, 186. See also I. Del Lungo, *Il priorato di Dante*, in *Nuova Antologia* (1900), LXXXVIII, 3. For the 'giusti son duo' of l. 73, see Gen. xviii, 24: 'Peradventure there be fifty righteous within the city.' For the solidity of shades: G. Gargano-Cosenza, *La saldezza delle ombre nel poema dantesco*, 1902, and R. Petrosemolo, *La saldezza delle ombre nella Divina Commedia*, 1902; cf. *Bull.*, X, 79.

Al tornar della mente, che si chiuse
  Dinanzi alla pietà de' duo cognati,
  Che di tristizia tutto mi confuse,
Nuovi tormenti e nuovi tormentati
  Mi veggio intorno, come ch' io mi mova 5
  E ch' io mi volga, e come ch' io mi guati.
Io sono al terzo cerchio della piova
  Eterna, maledetta, fredda e greve;
  Regola e qualità mai non l' è nuova.
Grandine grossa e acqua tinta e neve 10
  Per l' aer tenebroso si riversa;
  Pute la terra che questo riceve.
Cerbero, fiera crudele e diversa,
  Con tre gole caninamente latra

13. *Diversa*, 'strange.'

Sopra la gente che quivi è sommersa. 15
Gli occhi ha vermigli, la barba unta ed atra,
E il ventre largo, e unghiate le mani;
Gráffia gli spiriti, gli scuoia ed isquatra.
Urlar gli fa la pioggia come cani;
Dell' un de' lati fanno all' altro schermo; 20
Volgonsi spesso i miseri profani.
Quando ci scorse Cerbero, il gran vermo,
Le bocche aperse e mostrocci le sanne:
Non avea membro che tenesse fermo.
E il duca mio distese le sue spanne; 25
Prese la terra, e con piene le pugna
La gittò dentro alle bramose canne.
Qual è quel cane che abbaiando agugna,
E si racqueta poi che il pasto morde,
Che solo a divorarlo intende e pugna, 30
Cotai si fecer quelle facce lorde
Dello demonio Cerbero, che introna
L' anime sì ch' esser vorrebber sorde.
Noi passavam su per l' ombre che adona
La greve pioggia, e ponevam le piante 35
Sopra lor vanità che par persona.
Elle giacean per terra tutte quante,
Fuor ch' una, che a seder si levò, ratto
Ch' ella ci vide passarsi davante.

18. *Scuoia*, 'flays': some texts have *ingoia*, 'swallows.'
21. *Profani*, the impious gluttons, 'whose God is their belly': Phil. iii, 19.
22. *Vermo*, 'worm' or 'dragon.' In *Inf*. XXXIV, 108, Lucifer is called 'il vermo reo.' In the *Visio Alberici*, IX, there is at the entrance of Hell a 'vermis infinitæ magnitudinis' bound with a great chain.
23. *Sanne*, 'fangs.'
25. *Spanne*, palms and fingers.
28. *Agugna*, 'craves.'
30. *Pugna*, 'struggles.'
34. *Adonare*, which recurs in *Purg*. XI, 19, was used also by G. Villani, always in the sense of 'subdue.'

'O tu, che se' per questo inferno tratto,' 40
Mi disse, 'riconoscimi, se sai;
Tu fosti, prima ch' io disfatto, fatto.'
Ed io a lei: 'L' angoscia che tu hai
Forse ti tira fuor della mia mente
Sì che non par ch' io ti vedessi mai. 45
Ma dimmi chi tu se', che in sì dolente
Loco se' messa, ed a sì fatta pena,
Che, s' altra è maggio, nulla è sì spiacente.'
Ed egli a me: 'La tua città, ch' è piena
D' invidia sì che già trabocca il sacco, 50
Seco mi tenne in la vita serena.
Voi cittadini mi chiamaste Ciacco.
Per la dannosa colpa della gola,
Come tu vedi, alla pioggia mi fiacco;
Ed io anima trista non son sola, 55
Chè tutte queste a simil pena stanno
Per simil colpa.' E più non fe' parola.
Io gli risposi: 'Ciacco, il tuo affanno
Mi pesa sì che a lagrimar m' invita.
Ma dimmi, se tu sai, a che verranno 60
Li cittadin della città partita;
S' alcun v' è giusto; e dimmi la cagione
Perchè l' ha tanta discordia assalita.'
Ed egli a me: 'Dopo lunga tenzone
Verranno al sangue, e la parte selvaggia 65

48. *Maggio* for *maggiore* was not uncommon in early Italian. — Dante, who has not yet seen the rest of Hell, assumes that no punishment can be more disgusting than this.

51. To the lost souls the earthly life seems, by contrast, clear and beautiful.

54. *Mi fiacco*, 'I am broken.'

58. Note the similarity of ll. 58–9 to V, 116–7, which express the same sentiment in different words.

65. *Verranno al sangue*, a biblical phrase: I Sam. xxv, 26, 'prohibuit ne

Caccerà l' altra con molta offensione.
Poi appresso convien che questa caggia
Infra tre soli, e che l' altra sormonti
Con la forza di tal che testè piaggia.
Alte terrà lungo tempo le fronti, 70
Tenendo l' altra sotto gravi pesi,
Come che di ciò pianga e che ne adonti.
Giusti son duo, ma non vi sono intesi.
Superbia, invidia ed avarizia sono
Le tre faville che hanno i cori accesi.' 75
Qui pose fine al lagrimabil suono.
Ed io a lui: 'Ancor vo' che m' insegni,
E che di più parlar mi facci dono.
Farinata e il Tegghiai', che fur sì degni,
Jacopo Rusticucci, Arrigo e il Mosca, 80
E gli altri che a ben far poser gl' ingegni,
Dimmi ove sono, e fa ch' io li conosca;
Chè gran disio mi stringe di sapere
Se il ciel gli addolcia o lo inferno gli attosca.'

venires in sanguinem,' i. e., 'hath withholden thee from coming to shed blood.' — After long strife between the adherents of the Donati, representing the old aristocracy, and the followers of the Cerchi, who had come to Florence from the country and enriched themselves by commerce, blood was shed in an encounter on May 1, 1300. In June, 1301, the leaders of the Black or Donati party conspired against their opponents, and in consequence were exiled. — G. Villani says that the Cerchi were 'di bizzarra salvatichezza,' or 'curiously rustic.'

67. The Blacks having gained the upper hand through the cunning of Boniface VIII and his pretended 'peace-maker,' Charles of Valois, banished, between January 1 and October 1, 1302, some 600 Whites. Dante was sentenced on January 27, and again on March 10. — *Tre soli* means three solar years, beginning January 1; the Florentine year began on March 25.

69. *Tal* is Boniface. *Piaggiare* meant 'to temporize' (perhaps originally 'to hug the shore') and also 'to go to law' (cf. Provençal *plach* and Italian *piato*, 'law-suit'): either meaning would fit here, as the Pope in 1300 was acting ambiguously and was also engaged in litigation with Florence.

72. *Adonti*, 'be shamed.'

77. *Vo'* = *voglio*.

78. *Facci* = *faccia*.

84. *Addolcia*, 'sweetens'; *attosca*, 'envenoms.'

E quegli: 'Ei son tra le anime più nere; 85
Diversa colpa giù li grava al fondo;
Se tanto scendi, li potrai vedere.
Ma quando tu sarai nel dolce mondo,
Pregoti che alla mente altrui mi rechi.
Più non ti dico e più non ti rispondo.' 90
Gli diritti occhi torse allora in biechi;
Guardommi un poco, e poi chinò la testa:
Cadde con essa a par degli altri ciechi.
E il duca disse a me: 'Più non si desta
Di qua dal suon dell' angelica tromba. 95
Quando verrà la nimica podesta,
Ciascun ritroverà la trista tomba,
Ripiglierà sua carne e sua figura,
Udirà quel che in eterno rimbomba.'
Sì trapassammo per sozza mistura 100
Dell' ombre e della pioggia a passi lenti,
Toccando un poco la vita futura;
Perch' io dissi: 'Maestro, esti tormenti
Cresceranno ei dopo la gran sentenza,
O fien minori, o saran sì cocenti?' 105
Ed egli a me: 'Ritorna a tua scienza,

85. Farinata degli Uberti is among the heretics, X, 32; Tegghiaio Aldobrandi and Jacopo Rusticucci are with the sodomites, XVI, 41, 44; Mosca de' Lamberti is one of the sowers of discord, XXVIII, 106. Arrigo, who cannot be identified with certainty, is not mentioned again.

93. *Con essa*, i. e., head and all.

96. *Nimica*, 'hostile' to sin. *Podèsta*=*potestà*, Christ; cf. John v, 27: 'And [the Father] hath given him authority (*potestatem*) to execute judgment also, because he is the Son of man.' On the Day of Judgment, at the sound of the last trumpet, all souls in Heaven and Hell will return to earth, resume their bodies, gather in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and listen to their eternal sentence; after which they will go back to their respective places.

103. *Esti*=*questi*.

105. *Fien*=*fiano*=*saranno*.

106. *Tua scienza*, philosophy. Tor. cites from Fra Giordano: 'Dicono i santi e' savi che 'l corpo nostro non è uomo per sè, nè l' anima non è uomo

Che vuol, quanto la cosa è più perfetta,
Più senta il bene, e così la doglienza.
Tuttochè questa gente maledetta
In vera perfezion giammai non vada, 110
Di là, più che di qua, essere aspetta.'
Noi aggirammo a tondo quella strada,
Parlando più assai ch' io non ridico.
Venimmo al punto dove si digrada:
Quivi trovammo Pluto il gran nimico. 115

per sè; nè ha l' uno natura perfetta per sè solo, ma l' anima e il corpo congiunti insieme fanno uomo, sono una natura compiuta e perfetta.' Tor. quotes also from St. Thomas: 'The soul separated from the body is, in a way, imperfect, like any part existing outside of its whole, since the soul is naturally a part of human nature. Man, then, cannot attain the utmost felicity until it is reunited to the body.' If the bodiless soul cannot attain the utmost happiness, we may infer that it cannot attain the utmost misery. It follows that the pains of Hell will be severer after the Judgment, because, although the word 'perfection' cannot be fitly applied to 'these accursed people,' they expect to be more complete after the Great Day than before it.

114. *Dove si digrada*, 'where the descent is.'

115. *Pluto*, Plutus, the god of wealth, who was not always distinguished, even by the ancients, from Pluto.

CANTO VII

ARGUMENT

Plutus, the symbol of wealth, an inflated, puffy-faced monster, is as unsubstantial as he seems gigantic; when thwarted, he collapses and falls in a heap. Virgil addresses him, in l. 8, as 'maledetto lupo.' Similarly in *Purg.* XX, 10, Dante exclaims, in the circle of avarice and prodigality: 'Maledetta sie tu, antica lupa!' These two passages afford strong support for the interpretation of the wolf in Canto I as avarice. The arguments on the other side seem, however, conclusive; it is probably safe to assume that the wolf, in Dante's mind, always signified Incontinence, either in the abstract or in some one of its forms — and of these avarice is by far the most important and injurious. The swarm of the money-lovers is greater than any other in Dante's Hell, as it was in Virgil's (*Æn.*, VI, 610–11):

> 'Aut qui divitiis soli incubuere repertis
> Nec partem posuere suis, quæ maxima turba est.'

The fourth circle contains both misers and spendthrifts — those who showed no moderation in the use of worldly goods, but handled them so 'undiscerningly' that they are themselves made indistinguishable, 'darkened beyond discernment,' their individuality being sunk in their vice. The insulting cries which they exchange — 'Why hoard?' 'Why squander?' — proclaim, or 'bark,' their sin clearly enough. So the usurers, in Canto XVII, are altered beyond recognition, and can be picked out only by their money-bags. As Dante comes down among the sinners of the fourth shelf, the avaricious, as the more despicable, are on his left, the prodigal on his right. The 'clenched fist' is the sign of greed; the 'cropped hair,' of lavishness. Clerics form a large part of the miserly host; Dante was by no means alone in regarding avarice as the besetting fault of the clergy. In this canto we find none of the gentleness with which our poet treats the amorous; even the gluttonous receive more consideration. The verses bristle with derisive terms: *cozzi, zuffa, ontoso metro, rabbuffa*. As in *Æn.*, VI, 616, 'saxum ingens volvunt alii,' so these two classes of sinners, each traversing one-half the ring, roll huge weights, pushing with might and main 'by strength of chest,' the misers moving toward the right, the spendthrifts toward the left. When they reach a spot in front of

Dante, they clash together; then, with mutual execration, they turn about and laboriously work their way to the opposite side of the ring, where the encounter is repeated. And so the weary, futile round goes on to all eternity, a fit image of the incessant and useless efforts of humanity to transfer worldly possessions.

For this transfer God created a special minister, Fortune, a power similar to the celestial intelligences that move the heavens. She may be called the Angel of Earth. It is her mission to shift prosperity to and fro, without apparent plan, seeing that it remain not too long with one person, family, or nation. In many of his utterances about Fortune, Dante evidently follows Boethius; but the distinctly Christian conception of her as God's instrument seems to come rather from Albertus Magnus, and her rank as an angelic intelligence is bestowed by Dante himself.

Cutting across this circle, the poets find a stream that pours down over the edge to the terrace below; they keep close to this torrent, and so descend to the fifth shelf. Here the brook feeds a vast swamp, filled with muddy figures, all intent on mangling one another. Thus foul wrath pictures itself. These souls fare no better, at Dante's hands, than their immediate predecessors: their marsh is a 'puddle,' they 'gurgle in their gullets' and 'guzzle mud.' Aristotle, in his *Ethics*, IV, v — and, after him, St. Thomas, both in his commentary on Aristotle and in his *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. xlvi, Art. 8, and Secunda Secundæ, Qu. clviii, Art. 5 — divided the wrathful into three classes: the *acuti*, or quick-tempered; the *amari*, or sullen; the *difficiles* (also called *graves*), or vindictive. The *acuti* are evidently the sinners on the top of the pool; but below in the mire, so we are told, are others, whose presence is indicated only by the bubbles they send to the surface. These are the *amari*, and not improbably the *difficiles* as well — although Flamini would consign the latter to the City of Dis. Inasmuch as these sunken spirits are said to harbor 'sluggish fumes' or the 'fumes of sloth' ('accidioso fummo'), some commentators regard this marsh-bottom as the regular abode of acedia or sloth, one of the seven capital sins, which in Purgatory has a circle to itself. But acedia is a disposition, not an act: in so far as it leads to cowardice or indifference, it belongs to the *Antinferno;* when it manifests itself as sullenness, that sullenness is punished in the bog. As Brunetto Latini says in his *Tesoretto*, Cap. XXI, 145 ff.:

> In ira nasce e posa
> Accidia niquitosa;
> Chè chi non puote in fretta
> Fornir la sua vendetta,
> . . . .

> . . . è 'n tanto tormento
> Che non ha pensamento
> Di neun ben che sia,
> Ma tanto si disvia
> Che non sa migliorare
> Nè già ben cominciare,
> Ma croio e nighittoso
> È 'n ver Dio glorioso.'

For Fortune, see Boethius, *De Cons. Phil.*, II, Pr. ii and Met. ii, 1–8; IV, Pr. vi; also Albertus Magnus, *Physicorum*, Lib. II, Tr. ii, Cap. 14 ff.; and N. Busetto, *Origine e natura della "Fortuna" dantesca*, in *Giorn. dant.*, XII, 129. For the wrathful, Moore, II, 173–8; Flam., I, 161–85. It should be noted that Casini puts into the fifth circle not only anger and sloth, but also envy and pride.

'Pape Satan, pape Satan, aleppe,'
  Cominciò Pluto colla voce chioccia.
  E quel Savio gentil, che tutto seppe,
Disse per confortarmi : 'Non ti noccia
  La tua paura, chè, poter ch' egli abbia, 5
  Non ti torrà lo scender questa roccia.'
Poi si rivolse a quell' enfiata labbia
  E disse : 'Taci, maledetto lupo!
  Consuma dentro te con la tua rabbia!
Non è senza cagion l' andare al cupo 10
  Vuolsi nell' alto là dove Michele
  Fe' la vendetta del superbo strupo.'
Quali dal vento le gonfiate vele

2. *Chioccia*, 'clucking': Plutus talks like a hen. The first line is evidently intended to produce the effect of an unintelligible jargon. If (as is scarcely probable) Dante meant the words to signify anything, they may perhaps be interpreted: 'Oh! Satan! Oh! Satan! Alas!' *Pape* looks like the Greek exclamation *papæ;* and *aleppe* has suggested to some the Hebrew *aleph*, which is said to have been used as an interjection of grief. See, however, D. Guerri in *Giorn. dant.*, XII, 138; and E. Galli in *Rivista d' Italia*, XI (October, 1908), 617.

9. *Dentro* is adverbial, *te* is the object of *consuma*.

10. *Cupo*, 'hollow,' 'deep.'

12. *Strupo*=*stupro*, which sometimes had the sense of 'violence' and 'rebellion.' For the story of the revolt of the angels, through pride, and their ejection from Heaven, see III, 7, and the argument to XXXIV.

13. *Le vele gonfiate dal vento.*

Caggiono avvolte, poichè l' alber fiacca,
Tal cadde a terra la fiera crudele. 15
Così scendemmo nella quarta lacca,
Pigliando più della dolente ripa
Che il mal dell' universo tutto insacca.
Ahi giustizia di Dio, tante chi stipa
Nuove travaglie e pene quante io viddi? 20
E perchè nostra colpa sì ne scipa?
Come fa l' onda là sovra Cariddi,
Che si frange con quella in cui s' intoppa,
Così convien che qui la gente riddi.
Qui vid' io gente più che altrove troppa, 25
E d' una parte e d' altra, con grand' urli,
Voltando pesi per forza di poppa;
Percotevansi incontro, e poscia pur li
Si rivolgea ciascun, voltando a retro,
Gridando: 'Perchè tieni,' e 'Perchè burli?' 30
Così tornavan per lo cerchio tetro
Da ogni mano all' opposito punto,
Gridandosi anche loro ontoso metro;
Poi si volgea ciascun, quando era giunto
Per lo suo mezzo cerchio all' altra giostra. 35

14. *Fiacca*, 'breaks.'
16. *Lacca*, 'ditch.' Dante varies as much as possible, not only the descriptions of the circles, but also the names by which he calls them. — The *ripa* in l. 17 is the whole conical declivity of Hell, which 'bags all the evil of the universe.'
19. *Stipa*, 'packs.'
20. *Viddi* = *vidi*.
21. *Ne scipa*, 'wastes us.'
22. *Cariddi*, Charybdis, in the Strait of Messina. Cf. *Æn.*, III, 420.
24. *Riddi*, 'dance their round.'
25. *Troppa*, 'numerous.'
28. *Pur li* (i. e., *pur lì*, but pronounced with the stress on the *pur*), 'right there.' Dante usually tried to put one of the most important words of the line at the end; when he could not, he was rather fond of such fantastic rhymes as this, which are not uncommon in earlier Italian poets.

Ed io, che avea lo cor quasi compunto,
Dissi: 'Maestro mio, or mi dimostra
Che gente è questa, e se tutti fur cherci
Questi chercuti alla sinistra nostra.'
Ed egli a me: 'Tutti quanti fur guerci 40
Sì della mente, in la vita primaia,
Che con misura nullo spendio ferci.
Assai la voce lor chiaro l' abbaia,
Quando vengono a' duo punti del cerchio
Ove colpa contraria li dispaia. 45
Questi fur cherci, che non han coperchio
Piloso al capo, e Papi e Cardinali,
In cui usa avarizia il suo soperchio.'
Ed io: 'Maestro, tra questi cotali
Dovre' io ben riconoscere alcuni 50
Che furo immondi di cotesti mali.'
Ed egli a me: 'Vano pensiero aduni.
La sconoscente vita che i fe' sozzi
Ad ogni conoscenza or li fa bruni.
In eterno verranno alli duo cozzi; 55
Questi risurgeranno del sepulcro
Col pugno chiuso, e questi co' crin mozzi.
Mal dare e mal tener lo mondo pulcro
Ha tolto loro, e posti a questa zuffa.
Qual ella sia, parole non ci appulcro. 60
Or puoi, figliuol, veder la corta buffa

38. *Cherci*=*chierici*, 'clerics.' *Chercuti* means 'tonsured.'
40. *Guerci della mente*, 'mentally asquint.'
42. *Ferci*=*ci fecero*.
48. *Usa il suo soperchio*, 'wreaks its excess.'
53. *Sconoscente*, 'undiscerning.' — *I*=*li*.
60. *Parole non ci appulcro*, i. e., 'I waste no fine words in telling.'
61. *Buffa*, probably 'jest,' as in XXII, 133; others interpret it as 'puff,' 'breath of wind.'

De' ben che son commessi alla Fortuna,
Per che l' umana gente si rabbuffa.
Chè tutto l' oro ch' è sotto la luna,
E che già fu, di queste anime stanche 65
Non poterebbe farne posar una.'
'Maestro,' diss' io lui, 'or mi di' anche:
Questa Fortuna di che tu mi tocche,
Che è, che i ben del mondo ha sì tra branche?'
E quegli a me: 'O creature sciocche, 70
Quanta ignoranza è quella che vi offende!
Or vo' che tu mia sentenza ne imbocche.
Colui lo cui saper tutto trascende
Fece li cieli, e diè lor chi conduce,
Sì che ogni parte ad ogni parte splende, 75
Distribüendo egualmente la luce.
Similemente agli splendor mondani
Ordinò general ministra e duce,
Che permutasse a tempo li ben vani
Di gente in gente e d' uno in altro sangue, 80
Oltre la difension de' senni umani:
Per che una gente impera, e l' altra langue,
Seguendo lo giudizio di costei,
Che è occulto, come in erba l' angue.
Vostro saper non ha contrasto a lei: 85
Questa provvede, giudica e persegue
Suo regno, come il loro gli altri dei.
Le sue permutazion non hanno triegue;

68. *Tocche*=*tocchi*, 'allude': cf. V, 19.
74. *Chi conduce*, a directing power, i. e., the angels, or heavenly intelligences, who govern the revolutions of the spheres.
81. *Difension*, 'preventing.'
84. Cf. Virgil, Eclogue III, 93: 'latet anguis in herba.'
87. *Dei*, the heavenly intelligences, or angels.
88. Cf. Boethius, *De Cons. Phil.*, II, Pr. i.

Necessità la fa esser veloce,
Sì spesso vien chi vicenda consegue. 90
Quest' è colei ch' è tanto posta in croce
Pur da color che le dovrian dar lode,
Dandole biasmo a torto e mala voce.
Ma ella s' è beata e ciò non ode:
Con l' altre prime creature lieta 95
Volve sua spera, e beata si gode.
Or discendiamo omai a maggior pieta;
Già ogni stella cade che saliva
Quando mi mossi, e il troppo star si vieta.'
Noi ricidemmo il cerchio all' altra riva 100
Sopra una fonte, che bolle e riversa
Per un fossato che da lei deriva.
L' acqua era buia assai vie più che persa;
E noi, in compagnia dell' onde bige,
Entrammo giù per una via diversa. 105
Una palude fa, che ha nome Stige,
Questo tristo ruscel, quando è disceso
Al piè delle maligne piaggie grige.

90. 'So often comes one who obtains a turn,' i. e., so numerous are those who must be successively favored.
91. *Posta in croce*, 'crucified,' i. e., cursed, vilified.
94. *S' è = è*: in early Italian the verb *essere*, especially in the third person singular, was very often accompanied by a superfluous reflexive pronoun.
95. *Prime creature*, 'primal creatures,' angels.
96. *Spera*, 'wheel,' the traditional symbolic attribute of Fortune.
97. *Pièta*: cf. I, 21.
99. The stars which were rising in the east when they started have now crossed the meridian and begun to descend towards the west: it is past midnight. Virgil usually states the hour in astronomical terms — in Hell by the positions of the moon and stars, which, of course, he cannot see, except with his mind's eye. — Cf. the words of the Sibyl in *Æn.*, VI, 539: 'Nox ruit Ænea; nos flendo ducimus horas.'
102. *Fossato*, 'gully.'
103. *Persa*: cf. V, 89. *Bigio*, too, has the sense of 'murky'; and *grigio* means 'dusky.'
105. *Diversa*, 'strange': cf. VI, 13.
106. The Styx was the most famous of the rivers of the classic lower

Ed io, che di mirar mi stava inteso,
  Vidi genti fangose in quel pantano, 110
  Ignude tutte e con sembiante offeso.
Queste si percotean non pur con mano
  Ma con la testa, col petto e co' piedi,
  Troncandosi coi denti a brano a brano.
Lo buon Maestro disse: 'Figlio, or vedi 115
  L' anime di color cui vinse l' ira.
  Ed anche vo' che tu per certo credi
Che sotto l' acqua ha gente che sospira,
  E fanno pullular quest' acqua al summo,
  Come l' occhio ti dice, u' che s' aggira. 120
Fitti nel limo dicon: "Tristi fummo
  Nell' aer dolce che dal sol s' allegra,
  Portando dentro accidïoso fummo.
Or ci attristiam nella belletta negra."
  Quest' inno si gorgoglian nella strozza, 125
  Chè dir nol posson con parola integra.'
Così girammo della lorda pozza
  Grand' arco tra la ripa secca e il mezzo,
  Con gli occhi volti a chi del fango ingozza.
Venimmo al piè d' una torre al dassezzo. 130

world. Virgil uses the phrase 'Stygiamque paludem' in *Æn.*, VI, 323 and 369. — The four rivers of Dante's Hell — Acheron, Styx, Phlegethon, Cocytus — are all connected, forming one stream. Lethe is not in Hell, but in the Garden of Eden.

111. *Offeso*, 'damaged.'

118. *Ha = vi ha*, 'there are.'

123. 'Sluggish fume.' *Fummo* for *fumo* was very common, and is still in popular use.

124. *Belletta*, 'mire.'

128. *Mezzo*, pronounced *mḗtso*, means 'wet.' The word for 'middle' is sounded *mèdzo*.

130. Here, as frequently, Dante breaks his narrative at an interesting point, using suspense as a means of heightening effect.

CANTO VIII

ARGUMENT

The guardian of the fifth circle is Phlegyas, who seems to impersonate both *furor* and *rancor*. On earth he was a king of the Lapithæ, who, in a frenzy of rage against Apollo for the violation of his daughter, set fire to the temple at Delphi, and was slain by the god. He is mentioned, without specific punishment, in the *Æneid*, VI, 618–20:

> 'Phlegyasque miserrimus omnes
> Admonet, et magna testatur voce per umbras:
> Discite justitiam moniti, et non temnere Divos.'

'Learn moderation from my example' is his warning. In the *Commedia* he is a boatman on the Styx. It can hardly be his duty to ferry over all the spirits that are to go beyond: his tiny skiff would not suffice; and, besides, we are given to understand that each lost soul, after hearing its sentence, falls — as it were by the weight of its own sin — to the depth that befits it. His function seems to be to carry the wrathful spirits to their proper places in the Stygian pool.

St. Thomas, in the *Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. clviii, Art. 1, distinguishes from sinful rage the righteous indignation that is aroused by the sight of wickedness. This justifiable anger is illustrated, in an exciting scene, by the attitude of Dante toward one of the violently wrathful — an attitude which Reason heartily approves. The furious soul that so incenses Dante is Filippo Argenti degli Adimari of Florence, who 'in the world was a haughty person.' Boccaccio describes him, in the *Decameron*, IX, 8, as 'grande e nerboruto e forte, sdegnoso, iracundo e bizzarro più che altro.'

To the shores of the swamp an air of mystery is lent by two signal lights which are kindled, we know not how, at the top of a tower, and another light which responds from afar. When at last the poets arrive with Phlegyas at the other side, they are confronted by a vast wall that encircles the City of Dis, or Lower Hell, the abiding-place of those whose sins were due, not to Incontinence of desire or temper, but to permanent evil dispositions, Bestiality and Malice. Their crimes are the fruit of envy and pride. In Ps. lxxxvi, 13, we read: 'thou hast delivered my soul from the lowest hell' — 'eruisti animam meam ex inferno inferiore'; and from the

word *inferiore* St. Augustine and others argued a division of Hell into two parts.

Before landing, the boat has to make a long circuit about the fortifications. When the gate is reached, hosts of demons appear upon the ramparts, — 'più di mille da' ciel piovuti,' — who successfully oppose Dante's entrance. They lend a deaf ear to Virgil, and shut the doors in his face. The discomfited guide and his terror-stricken follower are obliged to wait for heavenly aid. The erring soul, which, seeking enlightenment, is trying to probe the recesses of human wickedness, comes to a stage where further advance seems impossible. Fear and remorse seize it at the aspect of the worst iniquities; reason can direct it no longer; it is on the verge of despair. To the horrified searcher it appears that reason is about to forsake him, that he is to be left without its guidance, while sin besets him on every hand. But in the hour of need divine help is not lacking. A special grace descends upon the distracted spirit, and opens a way where all seemed hopeless. Such, apparently, is the allegory of this dramatic episode.

Flam., I, 177 ff., suggests that Filippo Argenti represents a type of irritability due to vanity, and compares him with St. Thomas's *chaymus* (Aristotle's χαῦνος), the man fond of vain show.

Io dico, seguitando, ch' assai prima
Che noi fussimo al piè dell' alta torre,
Gli occhi nostri n' andar suso alla cima,
Per duo fiammette che i' vedemmo porre,
E un' altra da lungi render cenno 5
Tanto ch' a pena il potea l' occhio torre.
Ed io mi volsi al mar di tutto il senno;
Dissi: 'Questo che dice? e che risponde
Quell' altro foco? e chi son quei che il fenno?'
Ed egli a me: 'Su per le sucide onde 10
Già puoi scorger quello che s' aspetta,
Se il fummo del pantan nol ti nasconde.'

3. *Andar*=*andarono*.
4. *I'*=*ivi*.
6. *Tanto* modifies *da lungi*. — *Torre*, 'take in,' 'discern.' *Capio* was so used in Latin.
7. The 'Sea of all wisdom' is of course Virgil.
9. *Fenno*=*fecero*.

Corda non pinse mai da sè saetta
  Che sì corresse via per l' aer snella,
  Com' io vidi una nave piccioletta 15
Venir per l' acqua verso noi in quella,
  Sotto il governo d' un sol galeoto,
  Che gridava : 'Or se' giunta, anima fella?'
'Flegïàs, Flegïàs, tu gridi a voto,'
  Disse lo mio signore, 'a questa volta. 20
  Più non ci avrai, che sol passando il loto.'
Quale colui, che grande inganno ascolta
  Che gli sia fatto, e poi se ne rammarca,
  Fecesi Flegïàs nell' ira accolta.
Lo duca mio discese nella barca 25
  E poi mi fece entrare appresso lui,
  E sol quand' io fui dentro parve carca.
Tosto che il duca ed io nel legno fui,
  Secando se ne va l' antica prora
  Dell' acqua più che non suol con altrui. 30
Mentre noi correvam la morta gora,
  Dinanzi mi si fece un pien di fango,
  E disse : 'Chi se' tu che vieni anzi ora?'
Ed io a lui : 'S' io vegno, non rimango.

16. *In quella*, sc., *ora*.
17. *Galeoto*=*galeotto*, 'oarsman.' The poem contains several examples of imperfect rhymes of this type, in which a word with a single consonant is mated with a word that properly has a double one. Inasmuch as some Italian dialects had reduced the double consonants to single in pronunciation, and the spelling of them was by no means consistent even in the regions where they were sounded, Dante, like some other poets, assumed that a license of this kind was occasionally permissible. Cf. *Bull.*, III, 111–2; *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Beiheft xv, 64.
18. Phlegyas, in his blind wrath, seems not to have noticed that there are two new-comers.
20. *A questa volta*, 'this time.'
27. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 412–4:

'simul accipit alveo
Ingentem Æneam. Gemuit sub pondere cymba
Sutilis, et multam accepit rimosa paludem.'

Ma tu chi se', che sei sì fatto brutto?' 35
Rispose: 'Vedi che son un che piango.'
Ed io a lui: 'Con piangere e con lutto,
Spirito maledetto, ti rimani!
Ch' io ti conosco, ancor sie lordo tutto.'
Allora stese al legno ambo le mani; 40
Per che il Maestro accorto lo sospinse,
Dicendo: 'Via costà con gli altri cani!'
Lo collo poi con le braccia mi cinse,
Baciommi il volto, e disse: 'Alma sdegnosa,
Benedetta colei che in te s' incinse. 45
Quei fu al mondo persona orgogliosa;
Bontà non è che sua memoria fregi:
Così s' è l' ombra sua qui furïosa.
Quanti si tengon or lassù gran regi,
Che qui staranno come porci in brago, 50
Di sè lasciando orribili dispregi!'
Ed io: 'Maestro, molto sarei vago
Di vederlo attuffare in questa broda,
Prima che noi uscissimo del lago.'
Ed egli a me: 'Avanti che la proda 55
Ti si lasci veder, tu sarai sazio.
Di tal disio converrà che tu goda.'
Dopo ciò poco, vidi quello strazio
Far di costui alle fangose genti
Che Dio ancor ne lodo e ne ringrazio. 60
Tutti gridavano: 'A Filippo Argenti!'

39. *Ancor*, 'although.'
41. *Accorto*, 'wary.'
45. *In te s' incinse*, 'conceived thee.'
48. *S' è:* see note on VII, 94.
49. *Regi*=*re*.
55. *Proda*, 'shore,' at the other side of the swamp.

E 'l Fiorentino spirito bizzarro
In sè medesmo si volgea co' denti.
Quivi il lasciammo, chè più non ne narro;
Ma negli orecchi mi percosse un duolo 65
Per ch' io avanti l' occhio intento sbarro.
Lo buon Maestro disse: 'Omai, figliuolo,
S' appressa la città che ha nome Dite,
Co' gravi cittadin, col grande stuolo.'
Ed io: 'Maestro, già le sue meschite 70
Là entro certo nella valle cerno
Vermiglie, come se di foco uscite
Fossero.' Ed ei mi disse: 'Il foco eterno
Ch' entro le affoca le dimostra rosse,
Come tu vedi in questo basso inferno.' 75
Noi pur giugnemmo dentro all' alte fosse
Che vallan quella terra sconsolata.
Le mura mi parean che ferro fosse.
Non senza prima far grande aggirata,
Venimmo in parte dove il nocchier forte 80
'Uscite,' ci gridò, 'qui è l' entrata.'
Io vidi più di mille in sulle porte

62. *Bizzarro*, 'irritable.'
68. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 127: 'atri janua Ditis.' Dante transfers the name from the god to the city.
70. In the distance the wall, with its towers, looks like great buildings, which Dante appropriately calls 'mosques,' or places of demon-worship.
71. *Nella valle* means, perhaps, 'within the moat.' The sixth circle is apparently on the same level as the fifth. The boat passes presently (l. 76) from the swamp into the moat.
72. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 630–1:

'Cyclopum educta caminis
Mœnia conspicio.'

77. *Vallan*, 'fortify.' — *Terra*, 'city.'
78. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 554: 'stat ferrea turris.' — Flam., II, 37, regards the wall as the symbol of ill will.
80. *Forte*, 'loudly.'

Da' ciel piovuti, che stizzosamente
Dicean: 'Chi è costui, che senza morte
Va per lo regno della morta gente?' 85
E il savio mio Maestro fece segno
Di voler lor parlar segretamente.
Allor chiusero un poco il gran disdegno
E disser: 'Vien tu solo, e quei sen vada,
Che sì ardito entrò per questo regno. 90
Sol si ritorni per la folle strada:
Provi se sa; chè tu qui rimarrai
Che gli hai scorta sì buia contrada.'
Pensa, Lettor, se io mi sconfortai
Nel suon delle parole maledette; 95
Ch' io non credetti ritornarci mai.
'O caro duca mio, che più di sette
Volte m' hai sicurtà renduta, e tratto
D' alto periglio che incontra mi stette,
Non mi lasciar,' diss' io, 'così disfatto. 100
E se 'l passar più oltre c' è negato,
Ritroviam l' orme nostre insieme ratto.'
E quel signor che lì m' avea menato
Mi disse: 'Non temer, chè il nostro passo
Non ci può torre alcun: da tal n' è dato. 105
Ma qui m' attendi; e lo spirito lasso
Conforta e ciba di speranza buona,
Ch' io non ti lascerò nel mondo basso.'
Così sen va, e quivi m' abbandona

83. Flam., II, 45, thinks that the demons, or fallen angels, typify perverse habits.
93. *Scorta*, 'revealed.'
97. 'Seven' is often used to indicate an indeterminate number in the Bible (as in Prov. xxiv, 16) and elsewhere.
105. *Da tal:* by God himself.

Lo dolce padre, ed io rimango in forse; 110
Chè 'l sì e 'l no nel capo mi tenzona.
Udir non pote' quel ch' a lor si porse;
Ma ei non stette là con essi guari
Che ciascun dentro a pruova si ricorse.
Chiuser le porte que' nostri avversari 115
Nel petto al mio signor, che fuor rimase
E rivolsesi a me con passi rari.
Gli occhi alla terra, e le ciglia avea rase
D' ogni baldanza, e dicea ne' sospiri:
'Chi m' ha negate le dolenti case?' 120
Ed a me disse: 'Tu, perch' io m' adiri,
Non sbigottir, ch' io vincerò la prova,
Qual ch' alla difension dentro s' aggiri.
Questa lor tracotanza non è nuova,
Chè già l' usaro a men segreta porta, 125
La qual senza serrame ancor si trova.
Sopr' essa vedestù la scritta morta.
E già di qua da lei discende l' erta,
Passando per li cerchi senza scorta,
Tal che per lui ne fia la terra aperta.' 130

114. *Che* is equivalent to 'before.'—*A pruova*, each faster than his neighbor.
120. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 534: 'tristes . . . domos.'
121. *Perchè*, 'although.'
123. 'No matter what is stirred inside to prevent us.'
125. The demons are still possessed by the pride that caused their original fall. Their 'insolence' was shown at the outer gate of Hell, when they tried to oppose the descent of Christ.
126. Cf. Ps. cvii (Vulgate cvi), 16: 'For he hath broken the gates of brass, and cut the bars of iron in sunder.'
127. *Vedestù*=*vedesti tu.*
130. The one who is descending from the gate to open the city is an angel, 'del ciel messo.'

CANTO IX

ARGUMENT

DANTE in his terror begins to doubt whether Reason is a safe guide. Without venturing a direct question, he tries to ascertain whether his companion has full knowledge of the road they are to travel. The sage assures him that he has probed every depth of sin — that he has gone down to the very bottom of Hell. Even so the Sibyl, in the *Æneid*, VI, 564–5, tells Æneas:

> 'Sed me, cum lucis Hecate præfecit Avernis,
> Ipsa Deum pœnas docuit, perque omnia duxit.'

It was the Thessalian sorceress Erichtho, Virgil declares, who sent him, shortly after his death, to fetch a soul from the pit of treachery. Why she should have made him her messenger, instead of directly conjuring up the traitor, we are not told; perhaps Virgil's soul, being nearer the earth's surface, was more easily reached by her incantations. This same Erichtho, long before Virgil's adventure, had summoned for Sextus, the son of Pompey, on the eve of Pharsalus, the shade of a soldier to foretell the outcome of the battle: Lucan relates the incident at length in *Pharsalia*, VI, 413 ff. That witches had such power over the departed was firmly believed, not merely by the ancients, but in Christian times down almost to our day. Did not the woman of En-dor, in I Samuel xxviii, call up Samuel to prophesy to Saul?

While the poets are awaiting heavenly aid, suddenly at the top of a tower appear the threatening forms of three Furies, who presently summon Medusa to turn Dante to stone. Virgil quickly covers his disciple's eyes with his own hands. 'Shouldst thou see the Gorgon,' he says, 'there would be no returning to earth.' At this point our author expressly bids us ponder the allegory:

> 'O voi che avete gl' intelletti sani,
> Mirate la dottrina che s' asconde
> Sotto il velame degli versi strani.'

Many solutions have been proposed. The most natural and appropriate interpretation makes the Furies symbols of remorseful terror and Medusa the emblem of despair. *Desperatio*, or despair of the mercy of God, though not so wicked as hate and unbelief, is, according to St. Thomas, incurable and therefore more dangerous.

In the *Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. xx, Art. 3, he also quotes from St. Isidore, 'To despair is to descend into Hell.' St. Gregory, in his *Moralia*, Book VIII, ch. xviii, §34, declares that by *desperatio* 'the way of return is cut off.' Fear and hopelessness lead to insanity. So, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, IV, 481 ff., Tisiphone brings madness in her train:

> 'Nec mora, Tisiphone madefactam sanguine sumit
> Inportuna facem, fluidoque cruore rubentem
> Induitur pallam, tortoque incinguitur angue,
> Egrediturque domo. Luctus comitatur euntem
> Et Pavor et Terror trepidoque Insania vultu.'

Help comes in the shape of an angel, the bearer of divine grace. He moves through Hell like a storm-wind, scattering the damned before him, and opens the gate with a touch of his wand. The description of his descent reminds one, in some respects, of a flight of Mercury told by Statius in the *Thebaid*, II, 1–6. Particularly the phrase 'pigræ ire vetant nubes' resembles Dante's:

> 'Dal volto rimovea quell' aer grasso,
> Menando la sinistra innanzi spesso,
> E sol di quell' angoscia parea lasso.'

The only obstacle to God's grace is the dense atmosphere of ignorance and spiritual blindness that it must penetrate.

Inside the walls are the arch-heretics and their followers, those who wilfully defied their Maker and renounced his truth. Their existence is a living death, an invocation of divine anger: hence their souls appear to us as buried in tombs, consumed by that fire which, in the *Inferno*, seems to be a constant symbol of God's wrath. Their sin, though not a manifestation of Violence nor of Fraud, is due essentially to pride rather than to weakness; it indicates a disposition of the spirit, not an impulse of flesh or temper: their place, then, is within the City of Dis, but above the first great precipice that separates the upper from the lower circles.

Quel color che viltà di fuor mi pinse,
Veggendo il duca mio tornare in volta,
Più tosto dentro il suo nuovo ristrinse.
Attento si fermò com' uom che ascolta ;
Chè l' occhio nol potea menare a lunga 5

1. *Di fuor mi pinse*, 'painted on my face.'
3. *Dentro . . . ristrinse*, 'repressed.' *Nuovo*, sc., *colore*.

Per l' aer nero e per la nebbia folta.
'Pure a noi converrà vincer la punga,'
Cominciò ei : 'se non . . . tal ne s' offerse.
Oh quanto tarda a me ch' altri qui giunga !'
Io vidi ben sì com' ei ricoperse 10
Lo cominciar con l' altro che poi venne,
Che fur parole alle prime diverse.
Ma nondimen paura il suo dir dienne,
Perch' io traeva la parola tronca
Forse a peggior sentenza ch' ei non tenne. 15
'In questo fondo della trista conca
Discende mai alcun del primo grado,
Che sol per pena ha la speranza cionca?'
Questa question fec' io ; e quei : 'Di rado
Incontra,' mi rispose, 'che di nui 20
Faccia il cammino alcun per quale io vado.
Ver' è ch' altra fïata quaggiù fui,
Congiurato da quella Eriton cruda
Che richiamava l' ombre a' corpi sui.
Di poco era di me la carne nuda, 25
Ch' ella mi fece entrar dentro a quel muro
Per trarne un spirto del cerchio di Giuda.
Quell' è il più basso loco e il più oscuro
E il più lontan dal ciel che tutto gira :
Ben so il cammin ; però ti fa sicuro. 30

7. *Punga* = *pugna*.
8. *Tal*, i. e., Beatrice. Cf. XII, 88.
9. *Quanto tarda a me*, 'how I long.' *Altri* here, as very frequently in Dante, means 'some one'; cf. V, 81.
17. *Primo grado*, i. e., Limbus.
18. *Cionca*, 'cut off.'
20. *Incontra*, 'it happens.'
27. *Cerchio di Giuda*, Giudecca, the innermost part of the ninth and last circle of Hell.
29. *Il ciel che tutto gira* is the Primum Mobile, the outermost of the revolving heavens.

Questa palude che il gran puzzo spira
  Cinge d' intorno la città dolente,
  U' non potemo entrare omai senz' ira.'
Ed altro disse, ma non l' ho a mente;
  Perocchè l' occhio m' avea tutto tratto 35
  Ver l' alta torre alla cima rovente,
Dove in un punto furon dritte ratto
  Tre furie infernal di sangue tinte,
  Che membra femminili aveano ed atto,
E con idre verdissime eran cinte; 40
  Serpentelli e ceraste avean per crine
  Onde le fiere tempie eran avvinte.
E quei che ben conobbe le meschine
  Della regina dell' eterno pianto:
  'Guarda,' mi disse, 'le feroci Erine. 45
Questa è Megera dal sinistro canto,
  Quella che piange dal destro è Aletto,
  Tesifone è nel mezzo'; e tacque a tanto.
Con l' unghie si fendea ciascuna il petto;
  Batteansi a palme e gridavan sì alto 50
  Ch' io mi strinsi al poeta per sospetto.
'Venga Medusa, sì 'l farem di smalto,'
  Dicevan tutte riguardando in giuso:
  'Mal non vengiammo in Teseo l' assalto.'

33. *Senz' ira*, 'peacefully.'
38. *Tre furie*: cf. Statius, *Thebaid*, I, 103 ff.; Ovid, *Met.*, IV, 490 ff.
41. *Ceraste*, 'cerastes,' i. e., horned snakes.
43. *Meschine*, 'handmaids' of Hecate. The Furies are coupled with Hecate in *Æn.*, IV, 609–10:

> 'Nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes,
> Et Diræ ultrices.'

45. The Erinyes, or Furies, were named Alecto, Tisiphone, and Megæra.
48. Cf. *Æn.*, X, 761: 'Pallida Tisiphone media inter millia sævit.'
52. *Medusa*: cf. *Met.*, IV, 772 ff.
54. *Mal non vengiammo*, 'we did wrong in not avenging.' Theseus, who

'Volgiti indietro, e tien lo viso chiuso; 55
Chè se il Gorgon si mostra, e tu il vedessi,
Nulla sarebbe del tornar mai suso.'
Così disse il Maestro; ed egli stessi
Mi volse, e non si tenne alle mie mani
Che con le sue ancor non mi chiudessi. 60
O voi che avete gl' intelletti sani,
Mirate la dottrina che s' asconde
Sotto il velame degli versi strani.
E già venia su per le torbid' onde
Un fracasso d' un suon pien di spavento, 65
Per cui tremavano ambedue le sponde;
Non altrimenti fatto che d' un vento
Impetüoso per gli avversi ardori,
Che fier la selva, e senza alcun rattento
Li rami schianta, abbatte, e porta fuori. 70
Dinanzi polveroso va superbo,
E fa fuggir le fiere e li pastori.
Gli occhi mi sciolse, e disse: 'Or drizza il nerbo
Del viso su per quella schiuma antica,
Per indi ove quel fummo è più acerbo.' 75
Come le rane innanzi alla nimica
Biscia per l' acqua si dileguan tutte,
Fin che alla terra ciascuna s' abbica,
Vid' io più di mille anime distrutte
Fuggir così dinanzi ad un che al passo 80
Passava Stige colle piante asciutte.

had attempted to rescue Persephone from the lower world, was himself rescued by Hercules. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 392 ff.

58. *Stessi* = *stesso*.
60. *Chiudessi* = *chiudesse*: cf. IV, 64.
68. *Avversi ardori*, 'conflicting temperatures.'
78. *Alla terra . . . s' abbica*, 'cocks itself (crouches) on the bottom.'
79. *Distrutte*, 'lost.'

Dal volto rimovea quell' aer grasso,
  Menando la sinistra innanzi spesso;
  E sol di quell' angoscia parea lasso.
Ben m' accors' io ch' egli era del ciel messo, 85
  E volsimi al Maestro; e quei fe' segno
  Ch' io stessi cheto ed inchinassi ad esso.
Ahi quanto mi parea pien di disdegno!
  Venne alla porta, e con una verghetta
  L' aperse, chè non ebbe alcun ritegno. 90
'O cacciati del ciel, gente dispetta,'
  Cominciò egli in su l' orribil soglia,
  'Ond' esta oltracotanza in voi s' alletta?
Perchè ricalcitrate a quella voglia
  A cui non puote il fin mai esser mozzo, 95
  E che più volte v' ha cresciuta doglia?
Che giova nelle fata dar di cozzo?
  Cerbero vostro, se ben vi ricorda,
  Ne porta ancor pelato il mento e il gozzo.'
Poi si rivolse per la strada lorda, 100
  E non fe' motto a noi; ma fe' sembiante
  D' uomo cui altra cura stringa e morda
Che quella di colui che gli è davante.
  E noi movemmo i piedi in ver la terra,
  Sicuri appresso le parole sante. 105

91. *Dispetta*, 'despised.'
94. Cf. Acts ix, 5: 'it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.'
95. 'Whose goal can never be cut off.'
97. *Dar di cozzo*, 'to butt.'
99. Cerberus, having tried to obstruct Hercules, was chained by him and dragged outside of Hell. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 395–6:

'Tartareum ille manu custodem in vincla petivit,
Ipsius a solio regis traxitque trementem.'

102. *Stringa e morda:* cf. *Æn.*, IX, 294, 'Atque animum patriæ *strinxit* pietatis imago,' and VII, 402, 'si juris materni *cura remordet*.'

Dentro v' entrammo senza alcuna guerra;
Ed io, ch' avea di riguardar disio
La condizion che tal fortezza serra,
Com' io fui dentro, l' occhio intorno invio;
E veggio ad ogni man grande campagna 110
Piena di duolo e di tormento rio.
Sì come ad Arli, ove Rodano stagna,
Sì com' a Pola presso del Quarnaro,
Che Italia chiude e suoi termini bagna,
Fanno i sepolcri tutto il loco varo, 115
Così facevan quivi d' ogni parte,
Salvo che il modo v' era più amaro;
Chè tra gli avelli fiamme erano sparte,
Per le quali eran sì del tutto accesi
Che ferro più non chiede verun' arte. 120
Tutti gli lor coperchi eran sospesi,
E fuor n' uscivan sì duri lamenti,
Che ben parean di miseri e d' offesi.
Ed io: 'Maestro, quai son quelle genti
Che seppellite dentro da quell' arche 125
Si fan sentir con gli sospir dolenti?'
Ed egli a me: 'Qui son gli eresiarche
Co' lor seguaci d' ogni setta, e molto
Più che non credi, son le tombe carche.
Simile qui con simile è sepolto, 130

112. At Arles, near the delta of the Rhone, and at Pola, in the south of Istria, were ancient burying-grounds. The graves at Arles, of Roman origin, were thought to be filled with the bodies of Christian heroes who had fallen in battle with the Saracens.
114. The Bay of Quarnaro bathes the northeastern confines of Italy.
120. 'That no industry requires iron more so.'
123. *Offesi*, 'sufferers.'
129. There are on earth many secret unbelievers.

E i monimenti son più e men caldi.'
E poi ch' alla man destra si fu volto,
Passammo tra i martiri e gli alti spaldi.

132. Usually, in the descent through Hell, the poets turn to the left in each circle, this course symbolizing the direction taken by the sinner. The turn to the right, in this particular place, was perhaps suggested by *Æn.*, VI, 540 ff.

> 'Hic locus est, partes ubi se via findit in ambas:
> Dextera, quæ Ditis magni sub mœnia tendit;
> Hac iter Elysium nobis.'

133. *Spaldi*, 'battlements' of the city wall.

CANTO X

ARGUMENT

In this canto allegory yields to dramatic realism. Startling is the first call of Farinata as he stands upright in his tomb; not less effective Cavalcante's sudden interruption of the colloquy, and Farinata's prompt continuation of it, as soon as Cavalcante has sunk out of sight. A curious impression of verity is given by the little word 'credo' in line 54:

'Credo che s' era in ginocchie levata.'

We now learn that the damned, while aware of the past and indistinctly cognizant of the future, have no knowledge of present events on earth. Just how much time the 'present' embraces we are not told. This idea, which seems to be original with our poet, opens the way to an intensely pathetic situation in this canto; and throughout the *Inferno* it provides opportunity for varied narrative, the things of 1300 being told by Dante to the shades, while later events are prophesied by them to him. After the Judgment Day, when earthly life shall cease and the foresight of lost souls shall thus come to an end, their blindness will be unrelieved.

Although all heresies are punished in this circle, the only one that concerns Dante is that called 'Epicurean,' a name bestowed, in his day, upon materialistic free-thinking which denied the immortality of the soul and regarded a comfortable life as the highest good. There is grim irony in the eternal burial of sinners who affirmed that the spirit perishes with the body. Epicurus himself, pagan though he was, is with them. According to Dante, all philosophies, ancient and modern, admit the existence and the after-life of the soul, which Epicurus alone denied; he, then, was a heretic toward the truth that prevailed in his own time. Many of the best minds of the 13th century were led by intellectual pride into this false belief. Their excellence makes their example the more terrible.

Among them was Cavalcante de' Cavalcanti, a noble and wealthy Florentine, the father of that Guido whom Dante calls his 'first friend.' This Guido, a little older than Dante, was a famous poet and student, an ardent partisan, hostile to the Donati. In June, 1300, while Dante was a prior, Guido was banished with the other leaders of the two factions. He was soon taken ill and recalled, and died in the same year. Several passages in the *Vita Nuova* point

to discussions of literary principles by the two poets; Guido, we know, advised Dante to write his early work in Italian rather than in Latin. He seems to have been an independent thinker, and probably was inclined to skepticism. When Cavalcante sees Dante traversing Hell in the flesh, imagining that 'altezza d' ingegno' enables the young man to perform this miracle, he wonders why his son, Dante's companion and likewise endowed with 'lofty genius,' is not with him. Dante hastens to explain Guido's absence by the assurance that it is not his own wit, but Virgil's, which directs him, adding that Guido may not have duly esteemed the ancient sage —

'Forse cui Guido vostro ebbe a disdegno.'

This may mean that Guido's pride would not submit to the guidance of true Reason; or it may refer to some difference of literary opinion — possibly concerning the mystical significance of the *Æneid* or the fourth *Eclogue* — to which we have no other clue. Dante's use of the past tense, 'ebbe,' suggests to the father that his son is dead, that he is past repentance and salvation; and this supposition being confirmed by the bewildered silence of the poet (who does not yet know that lost souls are ignorant of the present), he falls back in despair.

Another famous heretic is Manente degli Uberti, called Farinata, chief of the Florentine Ghibellines, a wise and valiant leader, who died in 1264, a year before Dante's birth. In 1260 he had taken part in the battle of Montaperti, where the Guelfs of Florence suffered a fearful defeat from the Sienese, the exiled Ghibellines, and King Manfred's Germans. Some 10000 of the Florentines were killed, 5000 wounded, and 15000 taken as prisoners to Siena; the battlefield, we are told, was all red with blood, as if it had been covered with scarlet cloth. After this rout, the neighboring towns and barons held a council at Empoli, and all but Farinata were in favor of destroying Florence; he, however, opposed the project so stoutly that it was abandoned. In 1283 the inquisitor condemned him (nearly twenty years dead), his sons, and his grandsons as heretics. His brave and haughty spirit is not quelled even by his fiery punishment: he appears with head and chest erect, 'as if he held Hell in great contempt.' Dante approaches him with deference; only when goaded beyond endurance by Farinata's taunts does he show resentment. To him, as to Cavalcante, he uses the respectful *voi*, a form of address that he applies to no other of the damned, save Brunetto Latini.

See F. De Sanctis, *Il Farinata di Dante*, 1869. For the Epicureans, see *Giorn. dant.*, VIII, 170. See also *Conv.*, II, ix, 55–74; IV, vi, 97–114.

Ora sen va per un secreto calle
  Tra il muro della terra e li martiri
  Lo mio Maestro, ed io dopo le spalle.
'O virtù somma, che per gli empi giri
  Mi volvi,' cominciai, 'com' a te piace, 5
  Parlami, e satisfammi a' miei desiri.
La gente che per li sepolcri giace
  Potrebbesi veder? Già son levati
  Tutti i coperchi, e nessun guardia face.'
Ed egli a me: 'Tutti saran serrati, 10
  Quando di Josaffàt qui torneranno
  Coi corpi che lassù hanno lasciati.
Suo cimitero da questa parte hanno
  Con Epicuro tutti i suoi seguaci,
  Che l' anima col corpo morta fanno. 15
Però alla dimanda che mi faci
  Quinc' entro satisfatto sarai tosto,
  Ed al disio ancor che tu mi taci.'
Ed io: 'Buon Duca, non tegno riposto
  A te mio cor, se non per dicer poco; 20
  E tu m' hai non pur mo a ciò disposto.'
'O Tosco, che per la città del foco
  Vivo ten vai così parlando onesto,

1. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 443: 'secreti celant calles.'
8. *Già* is here simply an affirmative particle, corresponding to German *ja*.
11. On the Day of Judgment all souls, having recovered their bodies, will gather in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, whence, after hearing their sentence, they will return to Heaven or Hell. See Joel iii, 2: 'I will also gather all nations, and will bring them down into the valley of Jehoshaphat . . .' Also Joel iii, 12: 'Let the heathen be wakened, and come up to the valley of Jehoshaphat; for there will I sit to judge all the heathen round about.' The Vulgate has *gentes* in both passages. Cf. Mat. xxv, 31 ff.
13. *Suo* very frequently in Dante is equivalent to the possessive *loro*.
21. Cf. III, 80. The unspoken desire is perhaps the wish to see Farinata: cf. VI, 79.
23. *Onesto*, 'modestly.'

Piacciati di restare in questo loco.
La tua loquela ti fa manifesto 25
Di quella nobil patria natio,
Alla qual forse io fui troppo molesto.'
Subitamente questo suono uscìo
D' una dell' arche; però m' accostai,
Temendo, un poco più al duca mio. 30
Ed ei mi disse: 'Volgiti: che fai?
Vedi là Farinata che s' è dritto.
Dalla cintola in su tutto il vedrai.'
I' avea già il mio viso nel suo fitto;
Ed ei s' ergea col petto e colla fronte, 35
Come avesse lo inferno in gran dispitto.
E l' animose man del duca e pronte
Mi pinser tra le sepolture a lui,
Dicendo: 'Le parole tue sien conte.'
Com' io al piè della sua tomba fui, 40
Guardommi un poco, e poi quasi sdegnoso
Mi dimandò: 'Chi fur li maggior tui?'
Io, ch' era d' ubbidir desideroso,
Non gliel celai, ma tùtto gliel' apersi;
Ond' ei levò le ciglia un poco in soso; 45
Poi disse: 'Fieramente furo avversi
A me ed a' miei primi ed a mia parte,
Sì che per due fiate gli dispersi.'
'S' ei fur cacciati, ei tornar d' ogni parte,'

25. Mat. xxvi, 73: 'loquela tua manifestum te facit,' 'thy speech bewrayeth thee.'
36. *Dispitto*=*dispetto*, 'scorn.'
39. *Conte* probably=*contate*, 'numbered,' i. e., 'brief': cf. X, 115 and XVII, 40. The word *conto* means also 'agreeable' and 'clear.'
48. Farinata scattered the Guelfs in 1248 and 1260.
49. *Tornar*=*tornarono*. The Guelfs returned to Florence in 1251, after the death of Frederick II, and in 1266, after the battle of Benevento; they then expelled the Ghibellines, who never 'learned the art' of returning.

Rispos' io lui, 'l' una e l' altra fiata ; 50
Ma i vostri non appreser ben quell' arte.'
Allor surse alla vista, scoperchiata,
Un' ombra lungo questa, infino al mento ;
Credo che s' era in ginocchie levata.
D' intorno mi guardò, come talento 55
Avesse di veder s' altri era meco ;
Ma poi che il suspicar fu tutto spento,
Piangendo disse : 'Se per questo cieco
Carcere vai per altezza d' ingegno,
Mio figlio ov' è, e perchè non è teco?' 60
Ed io a lui : 'Da me stesso non vegno ;
Colui, che attende là, per qui mi mena,
Forse cui Guido vostro ebbe a disdegno.'
Le sue parole e il modo della pena
M' avevan di costui già letto il nome : 65
Però fu la risposta così piena.
Di subito drizzato gridò : 'Come
Dicesti "egli ebbe"? Non viv' egli ancora?
Non fiere gli occhi suoi lo dolce lome?'
Quando s' accorse d' alcuna dimora 70
Ch' io faceva dinanzi alla risposta,
Supin ricadde, e più non parve fuora.
Ma quell' altro magnanimo, a cui posta
Restato m' era, non mutò aspetto,
Nè mosse collo, nè piegò sua costa. 75

55. *Come*, 'as if.'
57. *Suspicar* (or *sospecciar*), 'curiosity.'
58. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 734: 'carcere cæco.'
65. *Letto*, 'proclaimed.'
69. *Lome*, a dialect form of *lume*. Cf. Eccles. xi, 7: 'Truly the light is sweet (*dulce lumen*), and a pleasant thing it is for the eyes to behold the sun.'
72. *Fuora*=*fuori*.
73. *A cui posta*, 'at whose instance.'

'E se,' continüando al primo detto,
  'S' egli han quell' arte,' disse, 'male appresa,
  Ciò mi tormenta più che questo letto
Ma non cinquanta volte fia raccesa
  La faccia della donna che qui regge, 80
  Che tu saprai quanto quell' arte pesa.
E se tu mai nel dolce mondo regge,
  Dimmi perchè quel popolo è sì empio
  Incontro a' miei in ciascuna sua legge?'
Ond' io a lui: 'Lo strazio e il grande scempio 85
  Che fece l' Arbia colorata in rosso
  Tale orazion fa far nel nostro tempio.'
Poi ch' ebbe sospirando il capo scosso,
  'A ciò non fui io sol,' disse, 'nè certo
  Senza cagion con gli altri sarei mosso: 90
Ma fu' io sol colà dove sofferto
  Fu per ciascun di torre via Fiorenza,
  Colui che la difesi a viso aperto.'
'Deh, se riposi mai vostra semenza,'

77. *Quell' arte:* cf. l. 51.
80. 'The queen who rules here' is Hecate, who in the sky appears as the moon. Before fifty months have passed, Dante is to learn how hard is the art of returning from exile. The unsuccessful mission of Cardinal Niccolò da Prato, sent by Benedict XI to Florence to secure peace and the restoration of the exiles, began on March 10, 1304. The fiftieth new moon after Dante's visit to Hell was about April 4, 1304. See Moore, III, 372.
82. 'As thou hopest ever to return . . .' *Se*, with the present subjunctive. is often used to introduce a formula of adjuration or asseveration. *Regge* is an old subjunctive from *redire = riedere*; it comes from *redeas*, just as *vegge* from *videas*.
84. In 1280, when most of the Ghibellines were allowed to come back, several of the Uberti were expressly excluded.
85. 'The rout and great slaughter' of Montaperti, beside the Arbia, not far from Siena, in 1260.
87. The Florentine councils met in the church of S. Giovanni.
91. At the Diet of Empoli, just after the battle. — *Sofferto*, 'agreed.'
92. *Torre via*, 'wipe out.'
93. *A viso aperto*, i. e., before all the world.
94. The same construction as in l. 82.

Prega' io lui, 'solvetemi quel nodo, 95
Che qui ha inviluppata mia sentenza.
E' par che voi veggiate, se ben odo,
Dinanzi quel che il tempo seco adduce,
E nel presente tenete altro modo.'
'Noi veggiam, come quei ch' ha mala luce, 100
Le cose,' disse, 'che ne son lontano;
Cotanto ancor ne splende il sommo Duce.
Quando s' appressano, o son, tutto è vano
Nostro intelletto; e s' altri non ci apporta,
Nulla sapem di vostro stato umano. 105
Però comprender puoi che tutta morta
Fia nostra conoscenza da quel punto
Che del futuro fia chiusa la porta.'
Allor, come di mia colpa compunto,
Dissi: 'Or direte dunque a quel caduto 110
Che il suo nato è co' vivi ancor congiunto.
E s' io fui innanzi alla risposta muto,
Fate i saper che il fei perchè pensava
Già nell' error che m' avete soluto.'
E già il Maestro mio mi richiamava; 115
Per ch' io pregai lo spirto più avaccio
Che mi dicesse chi con lui si stava.
Dissemi: 'Qui con più di mille giaccio;
Qua dentro è lo secondo Federico,

96. *Sentenza*, 'judgment.'
97. *E'=egli*, 'it.'
100. 'We see dimly.'
105. *Sapem=sappiamo.*
109. *Compunto*, 'remorseful.'
110. *Quel caduto:* Cavalcanti.
111. Guido died on August 20, 1300.
113. *I=gli.* — *Fei=feci.*
116. *Avaccio*, 'hurriedly.'
119. The great Emperor Frederick II (1194–1250), who was long engaged in strife against the Papacy, was generally regarded as an Epicurean.

E il Cardinale, e degli altri mi taccio.' 120
Indi s' ascose; ed io in ver l' antico
Poeta volsi i passi, ripensando
A quel parlar che mi parea nimico.
Egli si mosse, e poi così andando
Mi disse: 'Perchè sei tu sì smarrito?' 125
Ed io li satisfeci al suo dimando.
'La mente tua conservi quel ch' udito
Hai contra te,' mi comandò quel Saggio,
'Ed ora attendi qui' — e drizzò il dito.
'Quando sarai dinanzi al dolce raggio 130
Di quella il cui bell' occhio tutto vede,
Da lei saprai di tua vita il viaggio.'
Appresso volse a man sinistra il piede;
Lasciammo il muro, e gimmo in ver lo mezzo
Per un sentier ch' ad una valle fiede, 135
Che infin lassû facea spiacer suo lezzo.

120. Cardinal Ottaviano degli Ubaldini, apostolic legate in Lombardy and Romagna against Frederick, in the Kingdom of Naples against Manfred, was accused of unbelief and of sympathy with the Imperial cause. Several of the early commentators report him as saying: 'If there is a soul, I have lost it for the Ghibellines.'
129. 'He lifted his finger' in the usual didactic attitude.
131. Beatrice.
135. *Ad una valle fiede*, 'strikes into a valley,' i. e., leads to the edge of a pit.

CANTO XI

ARGUMENT

On the rough edge of the circular precipice leading to the seventh circle we meet the most shocking example of unbelief, an heretical Pope — the more gruesome because he does not appear, his presence being indicated only by an inscription on his tomb. This is Anastasius II, who for many centuries was generally but unjustly thought to have been induced by Photinus, deacon of Thessalonica, to deny the divinity of Christ; it is likely that he had been confused with the Byzantine emperor, Anastasius I.

At this point the master explains to his follower the general plan of the lower world. In Purgatory, too, the exposition occurs in the middle of the journey. The arrangement of punishments has been described in the preliminary note to the *Inferno*. In Virgil's account, based on the teaching of ancient philosophers, there is no mention of the sluggards, the unbaptized, or the heretics. Cicero wrote in his *De Officiis*, I, 13: 'Cum autem duobus modis, id est aut vi aut fraude, fiat injuria, fraus quasi vulpeculæ, vis leonis videtur: utrumque homine alienissimum, sed fraus odio digna majore. Totius autem injustitiæ nulla capitalior est quam eorum qui, cum maxime fallunt, id agunt ut viri boni esse videantur.' These two kinds of sin, *vis*, or violence, and *fraus*, fraud, are chastised in the Lower Hell. Outside the City of Dis, in the second, third, fourth, and fifth circles, are those who erred through Incontinence. In Aristotle's *Ethics*, VII, i, are specified three sorts of conduct to be shunned, *κακία, ἀκρασία, θηριότης*; the Latin translation used by St. Thomas calls them (Flam., I, p. 146) 'malitia, incontinentia, et bestialitas,' and we are told further (Flam., I, p. 151), 'minus autem bestialitas malitia, terribilius autem.' Incontinence is treated in the *Ethics*, VII, iii–x. Although Bestiality, as Aristotle defines it (VII, v), is something more inhuman than common violence, it seems probable that Dante roughly equated it with Cicero's *vis;* while malice corresponds well enough to the Ciceronian *fraus*. At any rate, Incontinence, Violence, and Fraud are the three great groups under which evil acts are classified.

Expounding the sins of the Lower Hell, Virgil declares that every wrongdoing hateful to God has harm for its object, and this harm is inflicted either by force or by deceit. Of these two methods the latter is the worse. The former is punished in the seventh circle.

But inasmuch as force may be done to our fellow-man, to ourselves, or to our Maker, this circle is divided into three concentric rings: the first contains assassins, robbers, and tyrants; the second, suicides; the third, blasphemers, sodomites, and usurers. Sodomites do violence to Nature, the minister of God. Usurers — that is, money-lenders — do violence to human industry, the offspring of Nature, and thus offend the Creator. This view of the practice of letting money at interest was usual in the Middle Ages. 'Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother,' says Deut. xxiii, 19. At the beginning of the *Ethics*, IV, i, Aristotle declares that 'the waste of property seems to be a sort of self-ruin, since life is maintained by property.' In accordance with this idea, Dante puts with the suicides, in the second ring, those who wasted their goods so recklessly that their death resulted; they are distinguished, in the *Inferno*, from the ordinary prodigals, whose fault was one of Incontinence.

Fraud may be perpetrated upon those who have no special cause to trust us, in which case only the common tie of humanity is broken; or upon those who have a particular ground for confidence, and then outrage is done not only to this universal fellowship, but also to the bond of family, country, hospitality, or gratitude. Deceivers of the former sort are tormented, according to the nature of their fraud, in the ten circular, concentric ditches of the eighth circle: eight of the ten types are rapidly enumerated in this canto; the other two — evil counsellors and sowers of discord — are dismissed with the epithet 'similar filth.' Traitors to kindred, fatherland, guests, or benefactors find their eternal abode in the icy plain of the ninth circle.

See Moore, II, 152 ff.; D' Ovidio, 241 ff.; Flam., I, 143–58.

In su l' estremità d' un' alta ripa,
Che facevan gran pietre rotte in cerchio,
Venimmo sopra più crudele stipa :
E quivi, per l' orribile soperchio
Del puzzo, che il profondo abisso gitta, 5
Ci raccostammo dietro ad un coperchio
D' un grande avello, ov' io vidi una scritta
Che diceva : 'Anastasio papa guardo,
Lo qual trasse Fotin della via dritta.'

3. *Stipa*, 'pack,' i. e., throng of sinners more cruelly punished. Cf. VII, 19.

‘Lo nostro scender conviene esser tardo, 10
Sì che s’aüsi un poco prima il senso
Al tristo fiato, e poi non fia riguardo.’
Così il Maestro; ed io: ‘Alcun compenso,’
Dissi lui, ‘trova, che il tempo non passi
Perduto;’ ed egli: ‘Vedi che a ciò penso. 15
Figliuol mio, dentro da cotesti sassi,’
Cominciò poi a dir, ‘son tre cerchietti
Di grado in grado, come quei che lassi.
Tutti son pien di spirti maledetti;
Ma perchè poi ti basti pur la vista, 20
Intendi come e perchè son costretti.
D’ ogni malizia ch’ odio in cielo acquista
Ingiuria è il fine, ed ogni fin cotale
O con forza o con frode altrui contrista.
Ma perchè frode è dell’ uom proprio male, 25
Più spiace a Dio; e però stan di sutto
Gli frodolenti, e più dolor gli assale.
De’ violenti il primo cerchio è tutto;
Ma perchè si fa forza a tre persone,
In tre gironi è distinto e costrutto. 30
A Dio, a sè, al prossimo si puone
Far forza, dico in loro ed in lor cose,
Come udirai con aperta ragione.

11. *S’ aüsi*, ‘accustom itself.’
17. *Tre cerchietti:* the 7th, 8th, and 9th circles of Hell, called *cerchietti* because they are smaller in circumference than those above.
18. *Lassi* = *lasci*.
21. *Costretti*, ‘stowed.’
22. Cf. Ps. v, 5: ‘thou hatest all workers of iniquity.’
26. *Sutto* = *sotto*.
28. *Primo cerchio*, i. e., the first of the three *cerchietti* mentioned in l. 17: the 7th circle of Hell.
31. *Puone* = *può*.
32. *In loro ed in lor cose*, ‘to their persons and their property.’
33. *Ragione*, ‘explanation.’

Morte per forza e ferute dogliose
  Nel prossimo si danno, e nel suo avere 35
  Ruine, incendi e tollette dannose:
Onde omicide e ciascun che mal fiere,
  Guastatori e predon, tutti tormenta
  Lo giron primo per diverse schiere.
Puote uomo avere in sè man violenta 40
  E ne' suoi beni: e però nel secondo
  Giron convien che senza pro si penta
Qualunque priva sè del vostro mondo,
  Biscazza e fonde la sua facultade,
  E piange là dove esser dee giocondo. 45
Puossi far forza nella Deïtade,
  Col cor negando e bestemmiando quella,
  E spregiando natura e sua bontade:
E però lo minor giron suggella
  Del segno suo e Sodoma e Caorsa, 50
  E chi, spregiando Dio col cor, favella.
La frode, ond' ogni coscïenza è morsa,
  Può l' uomo usare in colui che 'n lui fida,
  Ed in quei che fidanza non imborsa.
Questo modo di retro par che uccida 55

36. *Tollette dannose*, 'wrongful extortions.'
40. *Puote* = *può*.
42. *Senza pro*, 'unavailingly.'
44. *Facultade*, 'means.'
45. And is brought to grief on earth through the waste of that which should have made him happy.
47. Cf. Ps. xiv, 1: 'The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God.'
48. *Sua*, i. e., God's.
49. 'The smallest round (the innermost of the three rings into which the 7th circle is divided) stamps with its mark' the sodomites and the usurers and the blasphemers.
50. *Sodoma*, Sodom: see Gen. xix. *Caorsa*, Cahors, a town in southern France, a notorious nest of usurers.
54. *Fidanza non imborsa*, 'pockets no faith,' i. e., has no trust.
55. *Questo modo di retro:* 'this latter way.'

Pur lo vinco d' amor che fa natura;
Onde nel cerchio secondo s' annida
Ipocrisia, lusinghe e chi affattura,
Falsità, ladroneccio e simonia,
Ruffian, baratti e simile lordura. 60
Per l' altro modo quell' amor s' obblia
Che fa natura, e quel ch' è poi aggiunto,
Di che la fede spezïal si cria:
Onde nel cerchio minore, ov' è il punto
Dell' universo, in su che Dite siede, 65
Qualunque trade in eterno è consunto.'
Ed io: 'Maestro, assai chiaro procede
La tua ragione, ed assai ben distingue
Questo baratro e il popol che il possiede.
Ma dimmi: Quei della palude pingue, 70
Che mena il vento, e che batte la pioggia,
E che s' incontran con sì aspre lingue,
Perchè non dentro dalla città roggia
Son ei puniti, se Dio gli ha in ira?
E se non gli ha, perchè sono a tal foggia?' 75
Ed egli a me: 'Perchè tanto delira,'
Disse, 'lo ingegno tuo da quel che suole?

57. *Cerchio secondo*: the 8th circle, the second of the *cerchietti* of l. 17.
58. *Chi affattura*, 'spell-binders.'
60. *Ruffian*, 'panders.'—*Baratti*, 'deals,' 'malfeasance,' i. e., grafters.
61. *L' altro modo*: cf. l. 53.
64. *Il cerchio minore*, the smallest of the *cerchietti*, the 9th and last of the circles of Hell. — *Il punto*, 'the centre' of the whole material universe, where Dis, or Lucifer, is confined.
68. *Ragione*: cf. l. 33.
70. The wrathful (5th circle).
71. The lustful and the gluttonous (2d and 3d circles).
72. The avaricious and the prodigal, who taunt each other when they meet (4th circle).
73. 'The ruddy city,' i. e., the City of Dis, or Lower Hell.
75. *A tal foggia*, 'in such a plight.'
76. *Delira*, 'wanders.'

Ovver la mente dove altrove mira?
Non ti rimembra di quelle parole
Colle quai la tua Etica pertratta 80
Le tre disposizion che il ciel non vuole:
Incontinenza, malizia e la matta
Bestialitade? e come incontinenza
Men Dio offende e men biasimo accatta?
Se tu riguardi ben questa sentenza, 85
E rechiti alla mente chi son quelli
Che su di fuor sostengon penitenza,
Tu vedrai ben perchè da questi felli
Sien dipartiti, e perchè men crucciata
La divina vendetta gli martelli.' 90
'O Sol che sani ogni vista turbata,
Tu mi contenti sì, quando tu solvi,
Che, non men che saper, dubbiar m' aggrata.
Ancora un poco indietro ti rivolvi,'
Diss' io, 'là dove di' che usura offende 95
La divina bontade, e il groppo solvi.'
'Filosofia,' mi disse, 'a chi la intende,
Nota non pure in una sola parte
Come natura lo suo corso prende
Dal divino intelletto e da sua arte; 100
E se tu ben la tua Fisica note,
Tu troverai non dopo molte carte

80. *La tua Etica*, i. e., the *Ethics* (VII, i) of thy master, Aristotle, who enumerates three evils to be avoided: malice (κακία), incontinence (ἀκρασία), bestiality (θηριότης).
84. In the *Ethics*, VII, x, incontinence is compared with malice.
87. *Su di fuor*, 'above, outside (the City of Dis).'
91. *Sol* = *sole*.
95. See l. 50.
96. *Il groppo solvi*, 'loose the knot.'
97. *Filosofia*: the works of Aristotle.
100. *Sua arte*: the operation of the divine intelligence.
101. Aristotle, *Physics*, II, ii.

Che l' arte vostra quella, quanto puote,
  Segue, come il maestro fa il discente,
  Sì che vostr' arte a Dio quasi è nepote. 105
Da queste due, se tu ti rechi a mente
  Lo Genesì dal principio, conviene
  Prender sua vita ed avanzar la gente.
E perchè l' usuriere altra via tiene,
  Per sè natura, e per la sua seguace, 110
  Dispregia, poichè in altro pon la spene.
Ma seguimi oramai, chè il gir mi piace:
  Chè i Pesci guizzan su per l' orizzonta,
  E il Carro tutto sopra il Coro giace,
E il balzo via là oltra si dismonta.' 115

103. 'That human industry follows nature, as far as it can.'
105. 'So that human industry is, so to speak, the grandchild of God.'
106. *Queste due:* nature and industry.
108. 'Mankind must derive its sustenance and progress.' See Gen. ii, 15, and iii, 19: 'And the Lord God took the man, and put him into the Garden of Eden to dress it and keep it;' 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread . . .'
110. He despises nature both directly and indirectly (through its follower, human industry).
111. The money-lender sets his hope on gain derived neither from nature nor from toil.
113. Virgil, as usual, indicates the hour (in Jerusalem) by a description of the sky, which, of course, is not visible from Hell. The Fishes are wriggling on the horizon (*orizzonta* = *orizonte*), i. e., the constellation of Pisces, which precedes Aries, is just rising; the wain, or Great Bear, lies wholly in the quarter of Caurus, the northwest wind. The time is three hours or more after midnight.

CANTO XII

ARGUMENT

Throughout this episode, either by accident or by design, Dante does not speak. The canto deals with the descent into the seventh circle — the abode of the violent — and the description of the first of the three concentric rings that compose it. This first *girone* consists of a river of hot blood, a picture of sanguinary relations to one's fellow-men. The *Visio Alberici* also tells of homicides in a lake of boiling blood; and the *Visio Sancti Pauli* shows different kinds of sinners immersed to varying depths in a fiery stream. In the *Inferno*, too, the degree of immersion varies between eyebrows and feet, according to the wickedness of the offence. Along the narrow bank run centaurs, whose business it is to keep the other souls in their proper place. These half-human guardians are not depicted as hateful or repulsive: they do not seem to be demons, although their function is similar to that of the devils beside the ditch of barrators in the eighth circle; they appear to be rather the spirits of real centaurs, creatures whose semi-equine character made their excesses more natural and consequently less blameworthy. They may be intended also to serve as illustrations of Aristotle's doctrine of bestiality.

A still stronger suggestion of bestiality is conveyed by the presiding genius of the whole seventh circle, the Minotaur, half man and half bull, whose blind fury ('quell' ira *bestial*') defeats its own end and affords the travellers a chance to pass him. This monster — '*bestia*,' Virgil calls him — was the offspring of a bull and Pasiphae, wife of King Minos of Crete, who satisfied her abnormal passion (inflicted by Venus as a curse) by enclosing herself in a wooden cow —

'colei
Che s' *imbestiò* nelle '*mbestiate* schegge,'

as Dante says in *Purg*. XXVI, 86–7. The Athenian hero Theseus slew him in the Labyrinth, guided by Ariadne, the daughter of Pasiphae and Minos. Dante, to avoid placing him in any one of the three *gironi*, puts him on the cliff that overlooks them all. So he represents Geryon, the image of Fraud, as hovering over the eighth circle.

The poets' way down the precipice lies in a huge landslide made by the earthquake which, when Christ died and descended into Hell,

shook also a part of the wall between the unbaptized and the lustful (V, 34), and likewise damaged the hypocrites' valley in the eighth circle. In each case Dante uses the word *ruina*. This vast slide our poet compares with one in northeastern Italy, the Slavini di Marco, described by Albertus Magnus.

For the passage from Albertus Magnus, see Torraca.

Era lo loco, ove a scender la riva
  Venimmo, alpestro e, per quel ch' ivi er' anco,
  Tal ch' ogni vista ne sarebbe schiva.
Qual è quella ruina che nel fianco
  Di qua da Trento l' Adice percosse, 5
  O per tremuoto o per sostegno manco,
Chè da cima del monte, onde si mosse,
  Al piano è sì la roccia discoscesa
  Ch' alcuna via darebbe a chi su fosse,
Cotal di quel burrato era la scesa. 10
  E in su la punta della rotta lacca
  L' infamïa di Creti era distesa,
Che fu concetta nella falsa vacca;
  E quando vide noi, sè stesso morse
  Sì come quei cui l' ira dentro fiacca. 15
Lo Savio mio inver lui gridò: 'Forse
  Tu credi che qui sia il duca d' Atene,
  Che su nel mondo la morte ti porse?
Partiti, bestia, chè questi non viene
  Ammaestrato dalla tua sorella, 20
  Ma vassi per veder le vostre pene.'

2. *Quel ch' ivi er' anco* is the Minotaur.
11. *Lacca:* cf. VII, 16.
12. *Creti* was in use beside *Creta*. Cf. XIV, 95.
13. Cf. *Met.*, VIII, 133–4.
15. *Fiacca*, 'weakens,' 'subdues.'
17. Theseus: so called by Boccaccio and Chaucer.
20. Ariadne.

Qual è quel toro che si slaccia in quella
  Che ha ricevuto già 'l colpo mortale,
  Che gir non sa, ma qua e là saltella,
Vid' io lo Minotauro far cotale. 25
  E quegli accorto gridò : 'Corri al varco !
  Mentre ch' è in furia è buon che tu ti cale.'
Così prendemmo via giù per lo scarco
  Di quelle pietre, che spesso moviensi
  Sotto i miei piedi per lo nuovo carco. 30
Io gìa pensando ; e quei disse : 'Tu pensi
  Forse a questa rovina, ch' è guardata
  Da quell' ira bestial ch' io ora spensi.
Or vo' che sappi che l' altra fïata
  Ch' io discesi quaggiù nel basso inferno, 35
  Questa roccia non era ancor cascata.
Ma certo poco pria, se ben discerno,
  Che venisse Colui che la gran preda
  Levò a Dite del cerchio superno,
Da tutte parti l' alta valle feda 40
  Tremò sì ch' io pensai che l' universo
  Sentisse amor, per lo quale è chi creda
Più volte il mondo in Caos converso ;

22. *In quella*, sc., *ora* : cf. VIII, 16. Cf. *Æn.*, II, 223–4.

> 'Quales mugitus, fugit cum saucius aram
> Taurus, et incertam excussit cervice securim.'

28. *Scarco*, 'dump.'
31. *Gìa*=*giva*, i. e., *andava*.
40. *Feda*, 'foul.' Cf. Mat. xxvii, 50–1 : 'Jesus, when he had cried again with a loud voice, yielded up the ghost. And, behold, the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom; and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent.'
42. According to Empedocles, the four elements, mixed together, produced chaos; hate, separating the seeds, brought forth from chaos all the things of the universe; love, by drawing the seeds together, can restore chaos. Dante probably got his idea of Empedocles (whom he mentioned in *Inf.* IV, 138) from Aristotle.

Ed in quel punto questa vecchia roccia
Qui ed altrove tal fece riverso. 45
Ma ficca gli occhi a valle; chè s' approccia
La riviera del sangue, in la qual bolle
Qual che per violenza in altrui noccia.'
O cieca cupidigia, e ria e folle,
Che sì ci sproni nella vita corta, 50
E nell' eterna poi sì mal c' immolle!
Io vidi un' ampia fossa in arco torta,
Come quella che tutto il piano abbraccia,
Secondo ch' avea detto la mia scorta:
E tra il piè della ripa ed essa, in traccia 55
Correan Centauri armati di saette,
Come solean nel mondo andare a caccia.
Vedendoci calar ciascun ristette,
E della schiera tre si dipartiro
Con archi ed asticciuole prima elette; 60
E l' un gridò da lungi: 'A qual martiro
Venite voi che scendete la costa?
Ditel costinci; se non, l' arco tiro.'
Lo mio Maestro disse: 'La risposta
Farem noi a Chiron costà di presso. 65
Mal fu la voglia tua sempre sì tosta.'

45. *Altrove:* in the circle of the lustful, V, 34. The same earthquake shook down the bridges over the ditch of the hypocrites in the eighth circle, but of this Virgil is not yet aware; cf. XXI, 106 and XXIII, 136.
49. The motives of violence to our fellow-man are greed and wrath.
51. *C' immolle,* 'dost steep us': cf. V, 19.
53. 'As if encircling all the plain.' So it does, but of course Dante can see only a small section, or arc, of it at once.
55. *Traccia,* 'file.'
60. Cf. Lucan, *Pharsalia,* VII, 142: 'Cura fuit lectis pharetras implere sagittis.'
63. Cf. *Æn.,* VI, 389: 'Fare age, quid venias; jam istinc et comprime gressum.'
65. Chiron, son of Saturn, skilled in surgery, was the preceptor of Achilles.

Poi mi tentò, e disse: 'Quegli è Nesso,
Che morì per la bella Deianira,
E fe' di sè la vendetta egli stesso.
E quel di mezzo, che al petto si mira, 70
È il gran Chirone, il qual nudrì Achille.
Quell' altro è Folo, che fu sì pien d' ira.
D' intorno al fosso vanno a mille a mille,
Saettando quale anima si svelle
Del sangue più che sua colpa sortille.' 75
Noi ci appressammo a quelle fiere snelle.
Chiron prese uno strale, e con la cocca
Fece la barba indietro alle mascelle.
Quando s' ebbe scoperta la gran bocca,
Disse ai compagni: 'Siete voi accorti 80
Che quel di retro muove ciò ch' ei tocca?
Così non soglion fare i piè de' morti.'
E il mio buon Duca, che già gli era al petto
Dove le duo nature son consorti,
Rispose: 'Ben è vivo, e sì soletto 85
Mostrarli mi convien la valle buia.
Necessità 'l conduce, e non diletto.*
Tal si partì da cantare alleluia
Che mi commise quest' officio nuovo.
Non è ladron, nè io anima fuia. 90
Ma per quella virtù per cui io muovo

67. *Tentò*, 'nudged.' Nessus, while trying to carry off Dejanira through the water, was struck by an arrow from Hercules, her husband. To avenge himself, he left with Dejanira his bloody shirt, which afterwards caused the death of Hercules. Cf. *Met.*, IX.
72. Pholus figured in the battle between the Centaurs and the Lapithæ: Statius, *Thebaid*, II, 563–4.
75. *Sortille*, 'allotted it.'
84. *Consorti*, 'joined.'
85. *Sì soletto*: cf. II, 3.
88. Beatrice.

Li passi miei per sì selvaggia strada,
Danne un de' tuoi a cui noi siamo a pruovo,
Che ne dimostri là dove si guada
E che porti costui in su la groppa ; 95
Chè non è spirto che per l' aer vada.'
Chiron si volse in sulla destra poppa,
E disse a Nesso : 'Torna, e sì li guida,
E fa cansar, s' altra schiera v' intoppa.'
Noi ci movemmo colla scorta fida 100
Lungo la proda del bollor vermiglio,
Ove i bolliti facean alte strida.
Io vidi gente sotto infino al ciglio ;
E il gran Centauro disse : 'Ei son tiranni
Che dier nel sangue e nell' aver di piglio. 105
Quivi si piangon li spietati danni.
Quivi è Alessandro, e Dionisio fero,
Che fe' Cicilia aver dolorosi anni.
E quella fronte ch' ha il pel così nero
È Azzolino ; e quell' altro ch' è biondo 110
È Opizzo da Esti, il qual per vero
Fu spento dal figliastro su nel mondo.'

93. *A pruovo*, 'near.'
99. *Cansar*, 'turn out.'—*Intoppa*, 'meets.'
105. *Dier*=*diedero*. *Dare di piglio* means 'to lay hold.'
107. It is not known whether Dante meant Alexander the Great (described as bloodthirsty by Paulus Orosius) or Alexander of Pheræ, who was coupled with Dionysius as a typical tyrant by Valerius Maximus, and by Cicero in *De Officiis*, II, vii, 25. Dionysius ruled Syracuse from 407 to 367 B. C. *Cicilia* for *Sicilia* was common in mediæval times, and is still in use.
110. Azzolino or Ezzelino da Romano, who held extensive dominions in northeastern Italy in the first half of the 13th century, a notoriously cruel tyrant; he was called a son of Satan.
111. Obizzo or Opizzo da Este, Marquis of Ferrara in the second half of the 13th century, was a hard ruler. L. 112 seems to refer to an incident little known or disputed in Dante's day, so that the poet hears it with incredulity. Virgil, to whom he turns in doubt, tells him that in this matter the centaur is the best authority. *Figliastro* regularly means 'stepson'; Dante apparently uses it here in the sense of 'unnatural child,' or possibly 'bastard.'

Allor mi volsi al Poeta, e quei disse:
'Questi ti sia or primo, ed io secondo.'
Poco più oltre il Centauro s' affisse 115
Sopra una gente che infino alla gola
Parea che di quel bulicame uscisse.
Mostrocci un' ombra dall' un canto sola,
Dicendo: 'Colui fesse in grembo a Dio
Lo cor che in sul Tamigi ancor si cola.' 120
Poi vidi gente che di fuor del rio
Tenea la testa ed ancor tutto il casso:
E di costoro assai riconobb' io.
Così a più a più si facea basso
Quel sangue, sì che cocea pur li piedi; 125
E quivi fu del fosso il nostro passo.
'Sì come tu da questa parte vedi
Lo bulicame che sempre si scema,'
Disse il Centauro, 'voglio che tu credi,
Che da quest' altra a più a più giù prema 130
Lo fondo suo, infin ch' ei si raggiunge
Ove la tirannia convien che gema.
La divina giustizia di qua punge
Quell' Attila che fu flagello in terra,
E Pirro, e Sesto; ed in eterno munge 135

117. *Bulicame*, 'boiling stream': cf. XIV, 79.

119. The solitary soul, apparently shunned by all the others, is that of Guy of Montfort, who, in church at Viterbo, during mass, to avenge the death of his father (Simon, Earl of Leicester), stabbed Prince Henry, the son of Richard Plantagenet (Earl of Cornwall). Guy was vicar of Charles of Anjou in Tuscany in 1270. Henry's heart, it is said, was placed in a cup in the hand of a statue on the bank of the Thames. — *Tamigi*, 'Thames.' — *Si cola*, 'is honored.'

122. *Casso*, 'chest.'

134. Attila, King of the Huns, was called the 'Scourge of God.'

135. Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, a fearful enemy of the Romans. — For Sextus, son of Pompey, see Lucan, *Pharsalia*, VI, 420–2:

> 'Sextus erat, magno proles indigna parente,
> Qui mox, Scylleis exsul grassatus in undis,
> Polluit æquoreos Siculus pirata triumphos'

Le lagrime che col bollor disserra
A Rinier da Corneto, a Rinier Pazzo,
Che fecero alle strade tanta guerra.'
Poi si rivolse, e ripassossi il guazzo.

136. 'It milks the tears which it unlocks with the boiling,' a figure which Dante uses again in *Purg.* XIII, 57.
137. Two highwaymen apparently famous in the 13th century.
139. *Guazzo* = *guado*, 'ford.'

CANTO XIII

ARGUMENT

THE Church Fathers, from St. Augustine down, put suicide on a par with murder. Each is an attempt to cut short the term of life allotted by God, a crime of insubordination against the Creator. Neither can be justified by any excuse save the direct command of Heaven: thus Abraham was divinely bidden to sacrifice Isaac, and Samson destroyed himself in accordance with the Lord's will. It is perhaps worth noting that Dante mentions no pagan in this place; but as he cites only two examples, a Capuan and an unnamed Florentine, the significance of the omission is small — or would be so, had he not assigned several heathen suicides (Lucretia, Dido, Cato) to different parts of the other world.

The Capuan is Pier delle Vigne, who, after studying, in all probability, at Bologna, entered the court of Frederick II as a notary, and so won the confidence and affection of his sovereign that for over twenty years he was entrusted with the most important affairs of the realm. He was one of the foremost poets of the Sicilian school; many of his verses, as well as some of his Latin letters, are preserved. In 1248 or 1249 he was accused and convicted of treason; his eyes were put out, and according to one account he was condemned by the Emperor to be led in derision, on an ass, from town to town. To escape dishonor, he killed himself by dashing his head against a wall. It was no doubt with a view of emphasizing the inexorableness of God's canon that Dante selected the most sympathetic case he could find, one in which cruel injustice might seem to condone the offence. Piero, as Dante conceived him, is loyal, magnanimous, courtly, and most pathetic in his unshaken devotion to the master who wronged him.

The style of this canto abounds in curious conceits, such as the

'Io credo ch' ei credette ch' io credesse'

of l. 25, the 'infiammati infiammar' of l. 68, the double antithesis of l. 69, and the involved paradoxes of the following tiercet. It would seem that meditation over Pier delle Vigne, who dominates the canto, had filled our poet with the spirit of the older school, so that, either purposely or unconsciously, he imitated its artistic processes.

The suicide uses his freedom of bodily movement only to deprive himself of it, robbing himself, by his own act, of that which cor-

poreally distinguishes him from a plant. Such a sinner, then, his wicked deed eternalized, may aptly be figured as a tree or bush. Dante's self-slaughterers form a thick, wild forest in the second ring of the seventh circle. There, upon hearing their sentence from Minos, they fall at random, in no predestined spot: they have put themselves outside of God's law, rebelling against his eternal plan. On the Day of Judgment they will return, with the rest, for their earthly remains; but, instead of putting on the flesh again, they will drag their corpses through Hell and hang them on their boughs, where the poor bodies will dangle forever, a torment to the souls that slew them. The pent-up agony of these spirits finds no means of expression until they are broken in leaf or branch; then the voice issues forth, with tears of blood.

The like had been seen and heard by Æneas in a Thracian grove, when, to deck an altar, he unwittingly plucked shrubs from the grave of Polydorus: blood trickled from the severed roots, and a voice came forth — not from the tree, as in Dante, but from the mound (*Æn.*, III, 39 ff.): —

> 'Gemitus lacrimabilis imo
> Auditur tumulo, et vox reddita fertur ad aures:
> Quid miserum, Ænea, laceras? Jam parce sepulto,
> Parce pias scelerare manus. Non me tibi Troja
> Externum tulit. Haud cruor hic de stipite manat.'

In the suicides' wood, an outlet for the mournful voice is afforded by harpies, voracious, filthy birds with maidens' faces, which rend the foliage. They may well represent misgiving or fear of the hereafter — 'tristo annunzio di futuro danno.' Virgil describes them in the *Æneid*, III, 216–8: —

> 'Virginei volucrum vultus, fœdissima ventris
> Proluvies, uncæque manus, et pallida semper
> Ora fame.'

Their appearance in the same book of the *Æneid* with Polydorus may have led Dante to associate them with his speaking trees. On the Strophades islands, off Messenia, where they dwelt, their foul presence repeatedly interrupted the Trojans' repast; and finally one of them, Celæno, perched on a high rock, uttered so threatening a prophecy that the warriors hastily departed.

> 'Dixit, et in silvam pinnis ablata refugit.'

Thus in Virgil, as in Dante, the harpy is connected with a wood.

With the suicides are the reckless squanderers, those who rush madly through life pursued by the black hounds of Ruin and Death. Their sudden irruption is the more effective for its brevity and unexpectedness. The episode reminds one of legends of the Wild

Hunt, and of the ghostly chase described by Boccaccio in his *Decameron*, V, 8 It resembles also the story of Actæon, torn to pieces by his own dogs, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, III, 138 ff.; this tale, furthermore, had been rationistically explained by Fulgentius as meaning that the luckless hunter spent all his substance upon dogs.

See *Æn.*, III: for Polydorus, 22–43; for the harpies, 209–69; for Celæno, 245 ff. Cf. D' Ovidio[3], 179–82. For the collocation of the squanderers with the suicides, see the argument to XI. For the Wild Hunt, R. Serra in *Giorn. stor.*, XLIII, 278; cf. *Bull.*, XI, 234. For Actæon, D' Ovidio[3], 196–9. For Pier delle Vigne, see Novati, 67 ff.; D' Ovidio[3], 143 ff.; F. De Sanctis in his *Saggi critici*, 1874. For the Latin style of Pier delle Vigne, see F. Novati, *Con Dante e per Dante*, 17–8, 31.

Non era ancor di là Nesso arrivato,
  Quando noi ci mettemmo per un bosco
  Che da nessun sentiero era segnato.
Non frondi verdi, ma di color fosco;
  Non rami schietti, ma nodosi e involti; 5
  Non pomi v' eran, ma stecchi con tosco.
Non han sì aspri sterpi nè sì folti
  Quelle fiere selvagge che in odio hanno
  Tra Cècina e Corneto i luoghi colti.
Quivi le brutte Arpïe lor nidi fanno, 10
  Che cacciar delle Stròfade i Troiani
  Con tristo annunzio di futuro danno.
Ali hanno late, e colli e visi umani,
  Piè con artigli, e pennuto il gran ventre;
  Fanno lamenti in su gli alberi strani. 15
E 'l buon Maestro: 'Prima che più entre,
  Sappi che se' nel secondo girone,'

1. On his return trip.
7. The subject of *han* is *fiere*; *che* is the subject of the following *hanno*.
9. The Cècina, a stream near Volterra, and Corneto, a town close to Civitavecchia, denote the northern and southern limits of the woody, swampy district known as the Maremma. In Dante's time it was covered with dense forest. Rinier da Corneto has just been mentioned.
11. *Cacciar* = *cacciarono*.
15. *Strani* probably modifies *alberi*.
16. *Entre* = *entri*: cf. V, 19.

Mi cominciò a dire, 'e sarai, mentre
Che tu verrai nell' orribil sabbione.
Però riguarda bene, e sì vedrai 20
Cose che torrien fede al mio sermone.'
Io sentia da ogni parte traer guai,
E non vedea persona che il facesse;
Perch' io tutto smarrito m' arrestai.
Io credo ch' ei credette ch' io credesse 25
Che tante voci uscisser tra que' bronchi
Da gente che per noi si nascondesse.
Però disse il Maestro: 'Se tu tronchi
Qualche fraschetta d' una d' este piante,
Li pensier ch' hai si faran tutti monchi.' 30
Allor porsi la mano un poco avante
E colsi un ramicel da un gran pruno;
E il tronco suo gridò: 'Perchè mi schiante?'
Da che fatto fu poi di sangue bruno,
Ricominciò a gridar: 'Perchè mi scerpi? 35
Non hai tu spirto di pietate alcuno?
Uomini fummo, ed or sem fatti sterpi.
Ben dovrebb' esser la tua man più pia,
Se state fossim' anime di serpi.'
Come d' un stizzo verde, che arso sia 40
Dall' un de' capi, che dall' altro geme,

19. The third *girone* consists of a waste of sand, upon which falls a rain of fire.
21. Things that thou wouldst not believe, if I should tell thee. *Torrien*=*torrebbero*.
22. *Traer*=*trarre*. Cf. V, 48.
26. *Bronchi*, 'trunks.'
30. *Monchi*, 'cut short.'
33. *Schiante*=*schianti*, 'breakest': cf. V, 19.
34. *Da che*, 'when.'
37. *Sem*=*siamo*: cf. IV, 41.
40. *Stizzo*=*tizzone*, 'fire-log.'
41. *Geme*, 'drips.'

E cigola per vento che va via;
Sì della scheggia rotta usciva insieme
Parole e sangue; ond' io lasciai la cima
Cadere, e stetti come l' uom che teme. 45
'S' egli avesse potuto creder prima,'
Rispose il Savio mio, 'anima lesa,
Ciò ch' ha veduto pur con la mia rima,
Non averebbe in te la man distesa;
Ma la cosa incredibile mi fece 50
Indurlo ad opra che a me stesso pesa.
Ma dilli chi tu fosti, sì che in vece
D' alcuna ammenda tua fama rinfreschi
Nel mondo su, dove tornar gli lece.'
E il tronco: 'Sì con dolce dir m' adeschi 55
Ch' io non posso tacere; e voi non gravi
Perch' io un poco a ragionar m' inveschi.
Io son colui che tenni ambo le chiavi
Del cor di Federigo, e che le volsi
Serrando e disserrando sì soavi 60
Che dal secreto suo quasi ogni uom tolsi.
Fede portai al glorïoso uffizio,
Tanto ch' io ne perdei le vene e i polsi.

42. *Cigola*, 'sputters.'
48. 'What he has never seen, save in my verses,' i. e., in the story of Polydorus in *Æn.*, III, 22–43.
51. *Che a me stesso pesa*, 'which pains me myself.'
54. *Gli lece*, 'he is allowed.' *Lece*=Lat. *licet.*
55. *Adeschi*, 'allurest.'
56. *Voi non gravi perchè*, 'be not annoyed if.'
57. *M' inveschi*, 'I stick,' i. e., 'I am constrained,' like a bird caught in lime. This word continues the bird-hunting figure begun with *adeschi.*
58. Cf. Isaiah xxii, 22: 'And the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder; so that he shall open, and none shall shut; and he shall shut, and none shall open.'
61. *Secreto*, 'secrecy,' 'confidence.'
63. *Le vene e i polsi:* cf. I, 90. Other texts have *il sonno* (or *i sonni*) *e i polsi.*

La meretrice che mai dall' ospizio
Di Cesare non torse gli occhi putti, 65
Morte comune, e delle corti vizio,
Infiammò contra me gli animi tutti,
E gl' infiammati infiammar sì Augusto
Che i lieti onor tornaro in tristi lutti.
L' animo mio per disdegnoso gusto, 70
Credendo col morir fuggir disdegno,
Ingiusto fece me contra me giusto.
Per le nuove radici d' esto legno
Vi giuro che giammai non ruppi fede
Al mio signor, che fu d' onor sì degno. 75
E se di voi alcun nel mondo riede,
Conforti la memoria mia, che giace
Ancor del colpo che invidia le diede.'
Un poco attese, e poi : 'Da ch' ei si tace,'
Disse il Poeta a me, 'non perder l' ora ; 80
Ma parla e chiedi a lui se più ti piace.'
Ond' io a lui : 'Dimandal tu ancora
Di quel che credi che a me satisfaccia ;
Ch' io non potrei, tanta pietà m' accora.'
Perciò ricominciò : 'Se l' uom ti faccia 85
Liberamente ciò che il tuo dir prega,
Spirito incarcerato, ancor ti piaccia
Di dirne come l' anima si lega
In questi nocchi ; e dinne, se tu puoi,

64. The harlot is Envy, and the house of Cæsar is the Imperial court.
68. *Infiammar* = *infiammarono*.
69. *Tornaro* = *tornarono*.
70. *Gusto*, 'temper.'
82. *Dimandal* = *dimandalo*, 'ask him.'
84. *M' accora*, 'saddens me': a favorite word with the older poets.
85. *L' uom*, like French *l'on*, means 'one.' The clause with *se* is a formula of adjuration: 'As thou hopest that . . .' Cf. X, 82, 94.

S' alcuna mai da tai membra si spiega.' 90
Allor soffiò lo tronco forte, e poi
Si convertì quel vento in cotal voce:
'Brevemente sarà risposto a voi.
Quando si parte l' anima feroce
Dal corpo, ond' ella stessa s' è disvelta, 95
Minòs la manda alla settima foce.
Cade in la selva, e non l' è parte scelta;
Ma là dove fortuna la balestra,
Quivi germoglia come gran di spelta.
Surge in vermena, ed in pianta silvestra; 100
L' Arpíe, pascendo poi delle sue foglie,
Fanno dolore, ed al dolor finestra.
Come l' altre verrem per nostre spoglie,
Ma non però ch' alcuna sen rivesta;
Chè non è giusto aver ciò ch' uom si toglie. 105
Qui le strascineremo, e per la mesta
Selva saranno i nostri corpi appesi,
Ciascuno al prun dell' ombra sua molesta.'
Noi eravamo ancora al tronco attesi,
Credendo ch' altro ne volesse dire, 110
Quando noi fummo d' un romor sorpresi,
Similemente a colui che venire
Sente il porco e la caccia alla sua posta,
Ch' ode le bestie e le frasche stormire.
Ed ecco duo dalla sinistra costa, 115
Nudi e graffiati, fuggendo sì forte,

96. *Foce*, 'gulf,' i. e., the seventh circle.
99. *Spelta*, 'spelt,' a kind of grain.
100. *Vermena*, 'sprout.'
102. By breaking the leaves, they provide an outlet.
108. *Molesta*, 'harmful' to the body.
115. *Costa*, 'side.'

Che della selva rompieno ogni rosta.
Quel dinanzi : 'Ora accorri, accorri, morte.'
E l' altro, a cui pareva tardar troppo,
Gridava : 'Lano, sì non furo accorte 120
Le gambe tue alle giostre del Toppo.'
E poichè forse gli fallía la lena,
Di sè e d' un cespuglio fece un groppo.
Diretro a loro era la selva piena
Di nere cagne, bramose e correnti, 125
Come veltri che uscisser di catena.
In quel che s' appiattò miser li denti,
E quel dilaceraro a brano a brano;
Poi sen portar quelle membra dolenti.
Presemi allor la mia scorta per mano 130
E menommi al cespuglio che piangea,
Per le rotture sanguinenti, invano.
'O Jacomo,' dicea, 'da sant' Andrea,
Che t' è giovato di me fare schermo?
Che colpa ho io della tua vita rea?' 135
Quando il Maestro fu sopr' esso fermo,
Disse : 'Chi fusti, che per tante punte
Soffi con sangue doloroso sermo?'
Ed egli a noi : 'O anime che giunte

117. *Rompieno*=*rompevano*. — *Rosta*, 'brush.'

120. The spendthrift Lano of Siena perished in the battle of Pieve del Toppo, where the Sienese in 1289 were defeated by the Aretines. — *Giostre*, 'tilts.' — The speaker is Jacomo da Sant' Andrea.

123. 'He tied himself up in a bush.'

129. *Sen portar*=*se ne portarono*. — *Dolenti*, 'aching.'

133. The bush addresses the second of the two runners, a mad prodigal, who, it is said, was put to death by Ezzelino IV da Romano in 1239. Who the soul in the bush was, is not known for certain; Jacopo della Lana, one of the earliest commentators, declares that it was a certain Lotto degli Agli, a prior of Florence in 1285.

138. *Sermo*, 'speech'; cf. *sermone* in l. 21.

Siete a veder lo strazio disonesto 140
Ch' ha le mie fronde sì da me disgiunte,
Raccoglietele al piè del tristo cesto.
Io fui della città che nel Batista
Mutò 'l primo padrone, ond' ei per questo
Sempre con l' arte sua la farà trista; 145
E se non fosse che in sul passo d' Arno
Rimane ancor di lui alcuna vista,
Quei cittadin, che poi la rifondarno
Sopra il cener che d' Attila rimase,
Avrebber fatto lavorare indarno. 150
Io fei giubbetto a me delle mie case.'

140. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 497: 'inhonesto vulnere.'

142. *Cesto*, 'bush.' In accordance with the law of retaliation, these sinners, who ruthlessly destroyed their fleshly bodies on earth, care tenderly for their wooden bodies in Hell.

143. According to tradition, the first patron of Florence was Mars; the lower part of an old statue, supposed to represent the God of War, stood at the head of the Ponte Vecchio until 1233, when it was carried away by a flood. The new patron was John the Baptist, whose image adorned the florin. The Florentines gave up martial valor for money making.

145. *L' arte sua:* warfare.

147. *Alcuna vista*, 'some vestige': the fragmentary statue above mentioned.

148. *Rifondarno* = *rifondarono.*

149. It was believed that Attila, King of the Huns, or Totila, King of the Ostrogoths, had destroyed Florence. Attila and Totila were often confounded. The latter was in Tuscany in the 6th century.

151. *Giubbetto*, 'gibbet' or 'place of execution.' Two of the earliest commentators say that Lotto hanged himself with a girdle in his house.

CANTO XIV

ARGUMENT

The third and innermost ring of the seventh circle consists of a sandy plain upon which falls a rain of fire. It stands for the experience of those who directly and wittingly defy God and live in his wrath, of which fire is the symbol. 'Then the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven,' says Gen. xix, 24. And in Ezekiel xxxviii, 22, we read: 'I will rain upon him, and upon his bands, and upon the many people that are with him, an overflowing rain, and great hailstones, fire, and brimstone.' The blasphemers, who did violence to God himself, lie prostrate; the sodomites, sinners against God's minister, Nature, run incessantly; the usurers, outragers of human industry, the child of Nature, sit crouching. Of these classes, the second is largest.

Rather curiously, the first class is represented by a pagan, the tall Capăneus, who, 'scornful and twisted,' maintains his arrogant pose and 'seems not to be ripened by the rain.' His futile pride is more shocking to Reason than any offence yet encountered; his own rage is his worst punishment. St. Thomas says, in his commentary on Aristotle (quoted in Flam., I, 143): 'Est aliquis qui non est vere audax, sed videtur: scilicet superbus, quoniam fingit se esse fortem; unde, sicut fortis vel audax se habet circa terribilia, ita superbus quærit apparere.' The story of Capaneus is told by Statius in the *Thebaid*, X, 870–939: he was one of the seven kings who attacked Thebes; scaling the walls, whence his gigantic shadow frightened the city, he mocked at the gods and challenged Jove, who thereupon slew him with a thunderbolt.

> 'Ille jacet laceræ complexus fragmina turris,
> Torvus adhuc visu.' — *Thebaid*, XI, 9–10.

So he lies in Hell, taunting Jove with his labors at the battle against the giants. Statius, too, recalls this conflict, saying that at the downfall of Capaneus the other gods rejoiced with Jupiter, 'as if he were wearily toiling in the fight at Phlegra.'

Traversing the plain, from the wood to the great precipice, is a raised channel built like a dike, through which runs a torrent of boiling blood. This brook issues from the river of the first ring and falls over the cliff into the circle below. All the rivers of Hell,

in fact, are connected, forming a single stream, which assumes different shapes in the various circles. Its source is now described. In the island of Crete, between the old world and the new, is the figure of an aged man, fashioned like the 'great image' in the dream of Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel ii, 32–3: 'This image's head was of fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, his belly and his thighs of brass, his legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay.' Daniel interprets the image as a prophecy of four kingdoms But Dante's statue evidently represents humanity in its successive ages, as they are depicted, for instance, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, I, 89 ff. The clay foot signifies the weak and unstable condition of man. Ever since the Golden Age (the state of Adam and Eve before the fall) mankind has been imperfect; therefore all the statue except the head is split by a crack, St. Thomas's 'vulneratio naturæ.' From this fissure flow the tears of the sinful generations of men; descending into Hell, they make the infernal streams. The torments of the human soul, in whatsoever form they appear, really consist in sorrow over its own imperfections.

The bed of the connecting brook is all of stone, bottom and sides; and so are the high, flat, narrow banks on either hand. On one of these — the nearer, right-hand one — the poets mount to pursue their way across the desert; for no fire falls upon the duct. With great solemnity Virgil directs his disciple's attention to the stream, 'which deadens all the flamelets above it.' Nothing so noteworthy has been seen, he declares, since they entered the open gate of Hades. The unclosed door seems to figure our predisposition to sin. Does the quenching of the fire by boiling blood signify the appeasing of God's anger by human suffering? A symbol of atonement is manifestly out of place in the literal Hell; but allegorically Dante's lower world stands for the sinful life of man.

For the *vulneratio naturæ* see St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. lxxxv, Art. 3; cf. Flam., II, 31.

Poichè la carità del natio loco
  Mi strinse, raünai le fronde sparte,
  E rende' le a colui ch' era già fioco.
Indi venimmo al fine, ove si parte
  Lo secondo giron dal terzo, e dove 5
  Si vede di giustizia orribil arte.
A ben manifestar le cose nuove,

3. *Fioco*, 'faint'; cf. I, 63.

Dico che arrivammo ad una landa
Che dal suo letto ogni pianta rimuove.
La dolorosa selva l' è ghirlanda 10
Intorno, come il fosso tristo ad essa.
Quivi fermammo i passi a randa a randa.
Lo spazzo era un' arena arida e spessa,
Non d' altra foggia fatta che colei
Che fu da' piè di Caton già soppressa. 15
O vendetta di Dio, quanto tu dei
Esser temuta da ciascun che legge
Ciò che fu manifesto agli occhi miei!
D' anime nude vidi molte gregge,
Che piangean tutte assai miseramente, 20
E parea posta lor diversa legge.
Supin giaceva in terra alcuna gente,
Alcuna si sedea tutta raccolta,
Ed altra andava continüamente.
Quella che giva intorno era più molta, 25
E quella men che giaceva al tormento,
Ma più al duolo avea la lingua sciolta.
Sopra tutto il sabbion d' un cader lento
Piovean di foco dilatate falde,
Come di neve in alpe senza vento. 30

8. *Landa*, 'plain.'
12. *A randa a randa*, 'at the very edge.'
13. *Spazzo* (=*spazio*), 'floor.'
15. Cato led the remnants of Pompey's army across the Libyan desert in 47 B.C. Cf. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, IX, 371 ff., particularly 378 and 394–6:

'Atque ingressurus steriles, sic fatur, arenas:
. . . .
. . . . Dum primus arenas
Ingrediar, primusque gradus in pulvere ponam,
Me calor æthereus feriat.'

16. *Dei*=*devi*.
30. Dante repeatedly uses *alpe* for mountains in general, sometimes for Apennines.

Quali Alessandro in quelle parti calde
D' India vide sopra lo suo stuolo
Fiamme cadere infino a terra salde;
Per ch' ei provvide a scalpitar lo suolo
Con le sue schiere, a ciò che il vapore 35
Me' si stingueva mentre ch' era solo:
Tale scendeva l' eternale ardore;
Onde l' arena s' accendea, com' esca
Sotto focile, a doppiar lo dolore.
Senza riposo mai era la tresca 40
Delle misere mani, or quindi or quinci
Iscotendo da sè l' arsura fresca.
Io cominciai: 'Maestro, tu che vinci
Tutte le cose, fuor che i Demon duri
Che all' entrar della porta incontro uscinci, 45
Chi è quel grande, che non par che curi
L' incendio, e giace dispettoso e torto
Sì che la pioggia non par che il maturi?'
E quel medesmo, che si fue accorto
Ch' io domandava il mio duca di lui, 50
Gridò: 'Qual io fui vivo, tal son morto.
Se Giove stanchi il suo fabbro, da cui
Crucciato prese la folgore acuta
Onde l' ultimo dì percosso fui;
O s' egli stanchi gli altri a muta a muta 55

31. Dante apparently got this story from Albertus Magnus. It is a fusion of two episodes from the so-called Epistle of Alexander to Aristotle, where we find a heavy fall of snow, trampled down by the soldiers, and later a rain of fire.

35. *A ciò che*, 'inasmuch as.' — *Vapore*, 'flame.'

36. *Me'* = *meglio*.

45. *Uscinci* = *ci uscirono*.

52. *Se*, 'though'; so in l. 55. Even though Jove should labor as he did in the battle against the giants, in the valley of Phlegra in Thessaly, he could not subdue the spirit of Capaneus.

55. *Gli altri*: the cyclops, assistants of Vulcan. — *A muta a muta*, 'in relays'; Statius, *Thebaid*, II, 599–600, has the phrase *mutata . . . fulmina*.

In Mongibello alla fucina negra,
Chiamando: "Buon Vulcano, aiuta aiuta,"
Sì com' ei fece alla pugna di Flegra,
E me saetti con tutta sua forza,
Non ne potrebbe aver vendetta allegra.' 60
Allora il Duca mio parlò di forza
Tanto, ch' io non l' avea sì forte udito:
'O Capaneo, in ciò che non s' ammorza
La tua superbia, se' tu più punito;
Nullo martirio, fuor che la tua rabbia, 65
Sarebbe al tuo furor dolor compito.'
Poi si rivolse a me con miglior labbia,
Dicendo: 'Quel fu l' un de' sette regi
Ch' assiser Tebe; ed ebbe e par ch' egli abbia
Dio in disdegno, e poco par che il pregi; 70
Ma, come io dissi a lui, li suoi dispetti
Sono al suo petto assai debiti fregi.
Or mi vien dietro, e guarda che non metti
Ancor li piedi nell' arena arsiccia,
Ma sempre al bosco li ritieni stretti.' 75
Tacendo divenimmo là ove spiccia
Fuor della selva un picciol fiumicello,
Lo cui rossore ancor mi raccapriccia.
Quale del Bulicame esce il ruscello
Che parton poi tra lor le peccatrici, 80
Tal per l' arena giù sen giva quello.
Lo fondo suo ed ambo le pendici

56. *Mongibello* is a Sicilian name for Ætna.
67. *Labbia*, 'countenance.'
68. *Regi*=*re*.
73. *Metti*=*metta*.
79. *Bulicame*: a hot spring near Viterbo, frequented as a bath. The stream issuing from it was divided into separate baths for prostitutes, who were compelled to stay apart from the others.

Fatt' eran pietra, e i margini da lato;
Per ch' io m' accorsi che il passo era lici.
'Tra tutto l' altro ch' io t' ho dimostrato, 85
Poscia che noi entrammo per la porta
Lo cui sogliare a nessuno è negato,
Cosa non fu dagli tuoi occhi scorta
Notabil come lo presente rio,
Che sopra sè tutte fiammelle ammorta.' 90
Queste parole fur del Duca mio;
Per che il pregai che mi largisse il pasto
Di cui largito m' aveva il disio.
'In mezzo mar siede un paese guasto,'
Diss' egli allora, 'che s' appella Creta, 95
Sotto il cui rege fu già il mondo casto.
Una montagna v' è, che già fu lieta
D' acqua e di fronde, che si chiamò Ida;
Ora è diserta come cosa vieta.
Rea la scelse già per cuna fida 100
Del suo figliuolo; e per celarlo meglio,
Quando piangea vi facea far le grida.
Dentro dal monte sta dritto un gran veglio,
Che tien volte le spalle inver Damiata,
E Roma guarda sì come suo speglio. 105

84. *Lici*=*lì*.
87. *Sogliare*=*soglia*, 'threshold.' The gate is the entrance to Hell.
90. *Ammorta*=*ammorza* (l. 63), 'quenches.'
94. *Guasto*, 'waste.'
96. In the golden age, under Saturn.
99. *Vieta*, 'aged.'
100. Rhea, wife of Saturn, to save the infant Jupiter from his father, who devoured his sons, entrusted him to the Curetes, or Corybantes, in Crete; and when he cried, she had them drown the sound with noise. Cf. Virgil, *Georgics*, IV, 150–2; Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 197–210.
104. Damietta, an important city on the Egyptian shore, represents the East, the ancient, pagan world; Rome stands for the modern, Christian world.
105. *Speglio*=*specchio*.

La sua testa è di fin' oro formata,
E puro argento son le braccia e il petto,
Poi è di rame infino alla forcata;
Da indi in giuso è tutto ferro eletto,
Salvo che il destro piede è terra cotta, 110
E sta in su quel, più che in sull' altro, eretto.
Ciascuna parte, fuor che l' oro, è rotta
D' una fessura che lagrime goccia,
Le quali accolte foran quella grotta.
Lor corso in questa valle si diroccia: 115
Fanno Acheronte, Stige e Flegetonta;
Poi sen va giù per questa stretta doccia
Infin là dove più non si dismonta:
Fanno Cocito; e qual sia quello stagno,
Tu il vederai: però qui non si conta.' 120
Ed io a lui: 'Se il presente rigagno
Si deriva così dal nostro mondo,
Perchè ci appar pure a questo vivagno?'
Ed egli a me: 'Tu sai che il luogo è tondo,
E tutto che tu sii venuto molto, 125
Pur a sinistra, giù calando al fondo,
Non se' ancor per tutto il cerchio volto;
Perchè, se cosa n' apparisce nuova,
Non dee addur maraviglia al tuo volto.'

109. *Eletto*, 'choice.'
115. *Si diroccia*, 'precipitates itself.'
116. Acheron, Styx, Phlegethon, and Cocytus all belong to the classic underworld. The *Visio Sancti Pauli* gives the four rivers as 'Cochiton, Styx, Acheron, Flegeton.'
117. *Doccia*, 'duct.'
119. The frozen Cocytus forms the bottom of Dante's Hell, beyond which 'there is no descending,' because it is at the earth's centre.
123. 'Why do we see it only at this edge?': that is, why have we not crossed it in our spiral descent? Virgil replies that they have not made the whole circuit of the circumference of Hell.
129. *Dee*=*deve*.

Ed io ancor : 'Maestro, ove si trova 130
Flegetonta e Letè, chè dell' un taci,
E l' altro di' che si fa d' esta piova?'
'In tutte tue question certo mi piaci,'
Rispose ; 'ma il bollor dell' acqua rossa
Dovea ben solver l' una che tu faci. 135
Letè vedrai, ma fuor di questa fossa,
Là dove vanno l' anime a lavarsi
Quando la colpa pentuta è rimossa.'
Poi disse : 'Omai è tempo da scostarsi
Dal bosco ; fa che diretro a me vegne. 140
Li margini fan via, che non son arsi,
E sopra loro ogni vapor si spegne.'

132. *Piova*=*pioggia*, the rain of tears that forms the stream. — *Di'*=*dici*.
135. *Faci*=*fai*. The heat of this stream proves that it is Phlegethon; see *Æn.*, VI, 550–1:

'Quæ rapidus flammis ambit torrentibus amnis
Tartareus Phlegethon,'

and Statius, *Thebaid*, IV, 523:

'Fumidus atra vadis Phlegethon incendia volvit.'

136. Lethe is in the lower world of the ancients; but Dante puts it in the Garden of Eden, at the top of the mountain of Purgatory.
138. *Pentuta*=*pentita*.
140. *Vegne*=*venga*.

CANTO XV

ARGUMENT

Brunetto Latini, who fills this canto, was one of the leading figures in the Florence of the generation just before Dante. Born about 1220, of an illustrious family, he distinguished himself for ability, culture, and vast erudition. His profession of notary gave him the title of *Ser*. In 1260 he was sent as ambassador to the court of Alfonso X of Castile. On his way back he learned of the overthrow of the Guelf party, to which he belonged, at Montaperti, and deemed it best to stay in France. There he wrote in French his great encyclopædia, *Li livres dou Trésor;* he later composed in Italian verse a shorter didactic work, allegorical in form, known as the *Tesoretto*. In 1266, after the overthrow of the Ghibellines at Benevento, he returned to Florence, where he filled various public offices, and was held in great honor until his death in 1294. Dante addresses him with respectful *voi*.

Two motives, in all probability, induced our author to give Brunetto so conspicuous a place in his poem. The first was gratitude. To the *Tesoretto* Dante owed perhaps his first conception of a grand didactic poem clad in allegory. But there must have been, besides, a warm personal attachment between the gifted youth and the great scholar and statesman who, by his counsel, taught the lad 'how man can make himself eternal.' In the *Trésor*, indeed, Dante may have read (in the Italian version quoted by Torraca): 'E quelli, che delle grandi cose trattano, testimoniano che gloria dà all' uomo valente una seconda vita, ciò è a dire, che dopo la morte sua, la nominanza che rimane delle sue buone opere, fa parere che egli sia tuttora in vita' — an idea which reappears more than once in the *Commedia*. Of their friendship we have no knowledge save the touching picture suggested by this canto. It is by no means unlikely that Brunetto lectured in Florence on the art of Latin composition, and that Dante was among his hearers. Some have supposed that Latini had cast Dante's horoscope: this is unlikely, as both the *Trésor* and the *Tesoretto* ascribe little influence to the stars. The word 'stella,' as he uses it in l. 55, signifies no more than destiny or natural disposition.

Another reason for giving prominence to Latini was that which we noted in the case of Pier delle Vigne — the desire to furnish an extreme example. In Brunetto we have a man endowed with

fine intellectual and most endearing moral qualities, yet tainted with one vice, which destroys his soul. It is only through Dante that we know of his sin, but there can be no doubt of its reality; in his day assuredly many were aware of it. Thus the doctrine is again enforced that a single deadly fault, unexpiated, will damn a man otherwise noble. The contrast between his general dignity and his fatal weakness is emphasized at the end of the canto, when the elderly sage is suddenly forced to put aside his gravity and run like a racer to rejoin his fellows.

Few episodes are more startling than the first encounter of Dante and his old master in Hell; few are more pathetic than their walk together, the younger poet on the dike, the older on the plain below, beside his companion's skirt, his shoulders reaching perhaps to the level of Dante's feet. No nearer approach is lawful. The dusky setting is described (in ll. 18–21) with a couple of swift similes, which it is interesting to compare with the more leisurely style of Virgil in the *Æneid*, VI, 268–72 and 450–4:

'Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram,
Perque domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna;
Quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna
Est iter in silvis, ubi cælum condidit umbra
Jupiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.'

'Inter quas Phœnissa recens a vulnere Dido
Errabat silva in magna, quam Troius heros
Ut primum juxta stetit, agnovitque per umbram
Obscuram, qualem primo qui surgere mense
Aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam.'

See Novati, 334 ff.

Ora cen porta l' un de' duri margini,
E il fummo del ruscel di sopra aduggia
Sì che dal foco salva l' acqua e gli argini.
Quale i Fiamminghi tra Guizzante e Bruggia,
Temendo il fiotto che ver lor s' avventa, 5

1. *Margini* and *argini* form a trisyllabic or dactyllic rhyme, and the two verses really have twelve syllables each. Such lines are called *versi sdrúccioli;* Dante occasionally substitutes them for the ordinary *versi piani.* Cf. IV, 56.

2. *Fummo*=*fumo:* cf. VII, 123. *Aduggia*, 'overshadows.'

4. *Fiamminghi*, 'Flemings.' *Guizzante*, 'Wissant,' between Boulogne and Calais, was once a well-known port. *Bruggia*, 'Bruges,' in eastern Flanders, had extensive commercial relations with Italy.

5. *Fiotto*, 'tide.'

Fanno lo schermo perchè il mar si fuggia;
E quale i Padovan lungo la Brenta,
Per difender lor ville e lor castelli,
Anzi che Chiarentana il caldo senta;
A tale imagine eran fatti quelli, 10
Tutto che nè sì alti nè sì grossi,
Qual che si fosse, lo maestro felli.
Già eravam dalla selva rimossi
Tanto, ch' io non avrei visto dov' era,
Perch' io indietro rivolto mi fossi, 15
Quando incontrammo d' anime una schiera
Che venia lungo l' argine, e ciascuna
Ci riguardava come suol da sera
Guardar l' un l' altro sotto nuova luna;
E sì ver noi aguzzavan le ciglia 20
Come 'l vecchio sartor fa nella cruna.
Così adocchiato da cotal famiglia,
Fui conosciuto da un, che mi prese
Per lo lembo e gridò: 'Qual maraviglia!'
Ed io, quando il suo braccio a me distese, 25
Ficcai gli occhi per lo cotto aspetto
Sì che il viso abbruciato non difese
La conoscenza sua al mio intelletto;
E chinando la mia alla sua faccia,
Risposi: 'Siete voi qui, ser Brunetto?' 30
E quegli: 'O figliuol mio, non ti dispiaccia

6. *Fuggia*=*fugga*.
7. *Padovan*='Paduans.' The Brenta is a stream in northeastern Italy.
9. *Chiarentana*, or Carinzia, is a mountainous region north of the Brenta. Its melting snows swell the river.
12. *Felli*=*li fece*. 'The master-workman, whoever he was, made them . . .': cf. XXXI, 85.
15. *Perchè*, 'though.'
29. *La mia*: some texts have *la mano*.

Se Brunetto Latini un poco teco
Ritorna indietro, e lascia andar la traccia.'
Io dissi a lui: 'Quanto posso ven preco;
E se volete che con voi m' asseggia, 35
Faròl, se piace a costui, chè vo seco.'
'O figliuol,' disse, 'qual di questa greggia
S' arresta punto, giace poi cent' anni
Senza arrostarsi quando il fuoco il feggia.
Però va oltre: io ti verrò a' panni, 40
E poi rigiugnerò la mia masnada,
Che va piangendo i suoi eterni danni.'
Io non osava scender della strada
Per andar par di lui: ma il capo chino
Tenea, come uom che reverente vada. 45
Ei cominciò: 'Qual fortuna o destino
Anzi l' ultimo dì quaggiù ti mena?
E chi è questi che mostra il cammino?'
'Lassù di sopra in la vita serena,'
Rispos' io lui, 'mi smarri' in una valle, 50
Avanti che l' età mia fosse piena.
Pur ier mattina le volsi le spalle.
Questi m' apparve, tornand' io in quella,
E riducemi a ca' per questo calle.'
Ed egli a me: 'Se tu segui tua stella, 55
Non puoi fallire a glorïoso porto,

33. *Traccia:* cf. XII, 55.
34. *Ven*=*ve ne.*
35. *Asseggia*=*segga* or *sieda.*
36. *Faròl*=*lo farò.*—*Seco,* 'with him.'
39. *Arrostare,* 'brushing.' *Feggia:* present subjunctive of *fiedere,* 'to strike.'
41. *Masnada,* 'band.'
46. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 531–3: '. . . qui . . . casus, . . . quæ . . . fortuna' . . .'
53. Dante avoids mentioning Virgil by name in Hell.
54. *A ca'*=*a casa,* 'home'; the expression is still used by country people.

Se ben m' accorsi nella vita bella;
E s' io non fossi sì per tempo morto,
Veggendo il cielo a te così benigno,
Dato t' avrei all' opera conforto. 60
Ma quell' ingrato popolo maligno
Che discese di Fiesole *ab antico*,
E tiene ancor del monte e del macigno,
Ti si farà, per tuo ben far, nimico;
Ed è ragion, chè tra li lazzi sorbi 65
Si disconvien fruttare al dolce fico.
Vecchia fama nel mondo li chiama orbi:
Gente avara, invidiosa e superba.
Da' lor costumi fa' che tu ti forbi.
La tua fortuna tanto onor ti serba 70
Che l' una parte e l' altra avranno fame
Di te, ma lungi fia dal becco l' erba.
Faccian le bestie Fiesolane strame
Di lor medesme, e non tocchin la pianta,
S' alcuna surge ancor nel lor letame, 75
In cui riviva la semente santa
Di quei Roman che vi rimaser quando
Fu fatto il nido di malizia tanta.'

58. *Per tempo*, 'early.'
59. *Veggendo* = *vedendo*.
61. The Florentines. *Fiesole*, Latin *Fæsulæ*, is at the top of a steep hill near Florence. Catiline, driven from Rome, took refuge there with his followers. When the place was finally taken, tradition has it that the surviving inhabitants, combining with a Roman colony, founded Florence, 'which still smacks of the mountain and the rock.' — *Ab antico*, 'of old,' is a Latin phrase that had become current in Italian.
65. *È ragion*, 'that is right.' — *Lazzi sorbi*, 'sour sorb-trees.' Cf. Mat. vii, 16: 'Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?'
67. *Orbi*, 'blind.' Various stories were told to account for the 'old report.'
71. 'Each party will hunger for thee,' i. e., 'wish to devour thee.'
72. 'The grass shall be far from the goat': thou shalt escape.
73. *Strame*, 'fodder.'
78. Dante believed that his own family belonged to the old Roman stock of Florence.

'Se fosse tutto pieno il mio dimando,'
Risposi lui, 'voi non sareste ancora 80
Dell' umana natura posto in bando.
Chè in la mente m' è fitta ed or mi accora
La cara e buona imagine paterna
Di voi, quando nel mondo ad ora ad ora
M' insegnavate come l' uom s' eterna. 85
E quant' io l' abbia in grado, mentre io vivo
Convien che nella mia lingua si scerna.
Ciò che narrate di mio corso scrivo,
E serbolo a chiosar con altro testo
A donna che saprà, se a lei arrivo. 90
Tanto vogl' io che vi sia manifesto:
Pur che mia coscïenza non mi garra,
Che alla fortuna, come vuol, son presto.
Non è nuova agli orecchi miei tale arra;
Però giri fortuna la sua rota, 95
Come le piace, e il villan la sua marra.'
Lo mio Maestro allora in sulla gota
Destra si volse indietro, e riguardommi;
Poi disse: 'Bene ascolta chi la nota.'

79. 'If my prayer were quite fulfilled.'
81. 'Exiled from humanity,' i. e., dead.
82. Cf. *Æn.*, IV, 4: 'hærent infixi pectore vultus.' *Accora*, 'saddens': cf. XIII, 81.
86. 'How grateful I am for it . . .'
88. Cf. Prov. vii, 3: 'write them upon the table of thine heart.'
89. *A chiosar*, 'to be glossed . . . by a lady . . .' The 'other texts' are the prophecies of Ciacco and Farinata: VI, 64 ff.; X, 79 ff. Cf. X, 127 ff.; also *Par.* XVII, 19–27.
94. *Arra*, 'earnest,' i. e., 'foretaste.'
96. *Marra*, 'mattock.' Let fate and men pursue their thoughtless course: this sounds like a proverbial phrase.
97. Virgil, who was walking ahead, turned his head back to the right. Dante was following, with Brunetto below him on the plain at his right.
99. 'He who takes heed is a good listener.' Dante's words to Brunetto prove that he remembers Virgil's speech at the end of X.

Nè per tanto di men parlando vommi 100
Con ser Brunetto, e domando chi sono
Li suoi compagni più noti e più sommi.
Ed egli a me : 'Saper d' alcuno è buono :
Degli altri fia laudabile tacerci,
Chè il tempo saria corto a tanto suono. 105
In somma sappi che tutti fur cherci
E letterati grandi e di gran fama,
D' un peccato medesmo al mondo lerci.
Priscian sen va con quella turba grama,
E Francesco d' Accorso ; anco vedervi, 110
S' avessi avuto di tal tigna brama,
Colui potei che dal servo de' servi
Fu trasmutato d' Arno in Bacchiglione,
Dove lasciò li mal protesi nervi.
Di più direi ; ma il venir e il sermone 115
Più lungo esser non può, però ch' io veggio
Là surger nuovo fummo dal sabbione.
Gente vien con la quale esser non deggio.
Siati raccomandato il mio Tesoro,
Nel quale io vivo ancora ; e più non cheggio.' 120
Poi si rivolse, e parve di coloro

100. *Nè per tanto di men*, 'none the less.' *Vommi*=*mi vado.*
106. *Cherci*, 'clerks.'
108. *Lerci*, 'fouled.'
109. *Grama*, 'dismal.' Priscian, the great Latin grammarian of the 6th century. Francesco d' Accorso, son of a still more famous father, was renowned as a jurist; he lived in Bologna and in England, in the 13th century.
111. 'Hadst thou hankered for such scurf.'
112. *Potei*=*potevi.* Andrea di Mozzi was deposed in 1295 from the bishopric of Florence and transferred to the less important one of Vicenza, through which town the Bacchiglione runs. The Pope (or 'servus servorum Dei') who removed him was Boniface VIII.
114. 'Where he left his sinfully distended muscles,' i. e., he died.
117. *Fummo*, 'reek': cf. VII, 123.
118. *Deggio*=*devo* or *debbo.*
120. *Cheggio*=*chiedo.*

Che corrono a Verona il drappo verde
Per la campagna ; e parve di costoro
Quegli che vince e non colui che perde.

122. In the annual games held in Verona in the 13th century the first prize in the foot-race was a green cloth.

CANTO XVI

ARGUMENT

At the close of this canto poetic ingenuity does its utmost to intensify the effect of mystery and suspense. Virgil's reading of his companion's unspoken thought, the eager expectancy of both travellers, the strange and unexplained casting of a girdle into the abyss, Dante's reluctance to impart to us an event too marvellous for our belief — all this leads up to the final shadow of a weird form looming into sight, with which the narrative stops.

Arriving at the edge of the cliff, the boundary of the seventh circle, Dante, who hitherto has worn 'una corda intorno cinta,' takes off this girdle and hands it, 'knotted and coiled,' to his guide. Virgil throws it out into the darkness — a signal (so we afterwards learn) for the huge flying monster Geryon, the embodiment of Fraud and keeper of the eighth circle, who is to carry them down on his back. With this cord, we are told, Dante had once thought 'to catch the leopard with the painted hide,' which in the first canto represented the habit of Fraud. Henceforth Dante goes ungirded until he is about to begin the ascent of the mountain of Purgatory; then, at the bidding of Cato, he is girt with a rush, the emblem of humility. It should be remembered that in the Bible a girdle symbolizes strength.

The significance of the cord has been variously interpreted, and there is now no agreement among commentators. This rope must stand for something upon which Dante at one time built false hopes, but now, at the command of Reason, discards; something, moreover, to be appropriately replaced by humility; and, lastly, something which shall attract Geryon and bring him to view. This something may well be self-confidence, the opposite of humility; a seeming strength, which the poet formerly deemed adequate for the mastery of his faults; a delusion, and therefore a lure to the genius of Deceit. The coiled and knotted rope itself suggests a snare; in *Par.* XXVIII, 12, indeed, Dante uses the word *corda* in this sense — 'a pigliarmi fece Amor la corda.' Geryon, when he appears, has his breast and sides decorated with 'knots and rings,' corresponding to the shape of the cast-off belt. While girt with self-confidence, Dante contended vainly against Fraud; but no sooner is this deceptive girdle put aside than Fraud becomes amenable to Reason.

See U. Cosmo in *Giorn. dant.*, IX, 47; P. Chistoni in *Bull.*, X, 325.

Già era in loco ove s' udia il rimbombo
  Dell' acqua che cadea nell' altro giro,
  Simile a quel che l' arnie fanno rombo,
Quando tre ombre insieme si partiro
  Correndo d' una torma che passava 5
  Sotto la pioggia dell' aspro martiro.
Venian ver noi, e ciascuna gridava :
  'Sostati tu, che all' abito ne sembri
  Essere alcun di nostra terra prava.'
Aimè, che piaghe vidi ne' lor membri 10
  Recenti e vecchie dalle fiamme incese!
  Ancor men duol, pur ch' io me ne rimembri.
Alle lor grida il mio Dottor s' attese,
  Volse il viso ver me, ed : 'Ora aspetta,'
  Disse ; 'a costor si vuole esser cortese. 15
E se non fosse il foco che saetta
  La natura del loco, io dicerei
  Che meglio stesse a te, che a lor, la fretta.'
Ricominciar, come noi ristemmo, ei
  L' antico verso ; e quando a noi fur giunti, 20
  Fenno una rota di sè tutti e trei.
Qual soleno i campion far nudi ed unti,
  Avvisando lor presa e lor vantaggio,
  Prima che sien tra lor battuti e punti :

2. The 'next circle' is the eighth, separated from the seventh by a mighty precipice.

12. *Men=me ne.*

19. *Ricominciar=ricominciarono. Ei* is the pronoun, 'they.' They resumed their eternal lament.

21. *Fenno=fecero. Trei=tre.*

22. The *campioni* are the wrestlers and boxers of ancient times. *Soleno = sole(v)ano* (cf. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Beiheft XV, 26); other texts have *soleano* or *sogliono :* this verb was in early Italian, as in Provençal, used in the present with the sense of the imperfect (cf. XVI, 68; XXVII, 48; etc.). Cf. *Æn.*, III, 281–2:

> 'Exercent patrias oleo labente palæstras
> Nudati socii.'

Così, rotando, ciascuno il visaggio 25
Drizzava a me, sì che in contrario il collo
Faceva a' piè continüo viaggio.
'E se miseria d' esto loco sollo
Rende in dispetto noi e nostri preghi,'
Cominciò l' uno, 'e il tinto aspetto e brollo; 30
La fama nostra il tuo animo pieghi
A dirne chi tu se', che i vivi piedi
Così sicuro per lo inferno freghi.
Questi, l' orme di cui pestar mi vedi,
Tutto che nudo e dipelato vada, 35
Fu di grado maggior che tu non credi.
Nepote fu della buona Gualdrada:
Guido Guerra ebbe nome, ed in sua vita
Fece col senno assai e con la spada.
L' altro che appresso me l' arena trita, 40
È Tegghiaio Aldobrandi, la cui voce
Nel mondo su dovria esser gradita.
Ed io, che posto son con loro in croce,
Jacopo Rusticucci fui; e certo

25. The three circled around and around in front of Dante, as if they were dancing in a ring. All kept their faces turned toward him.

28. *Sollo* seems to mean 'soft' or 'sandy.'

30. *Aspetto* is, like *miseria* above, subject of *rende*. *Brollo* probably means 'bare,' i. e., hairless; it appears to be the same word as the *brullo* of *Inf.* XXXIV, 60 and *Purg.* XIV, 91.

35. *Tutto che*, 'albeit.'

37. Gualdrada, renowned for her beauty and modesty, a sister-in-law of Dante's great-grandfather, was the daughter of the Bellincion Berti of *Par.* XV, 112. Her grandson, Guido Guerra (or Guidoguerra), was a distinguished Florentine soldier, who died in 1272.

40. *Trita*, 'treads.'

41. Tegghiaio, of the Adimari family, was an illustrious citizen of Florence in the middle part of the 13th century. If his counsel had been heeded, his countrymen would have escaped the defeat of Montaperti in 1260; that is why 'his voice should be welcome.' Dante had inquired of Ciacco (VI, 79–80) concerning Tegghiaio and Rusticucci.

44. Of Rusticucci, a contemporary of the other two, comparatively little is recorded. Nothing is known of his wife.

La fiera moglie più ch' altro mi nuoce.' 45
S' io fussi stato dal foco coperto,
Gittato mi sarei tra lor disotto,
E credo che il Dottor l' avria sofferto.
Ma perch' io mi sarei bruciato e cotto,
Vinse paura la mia buona voglia, 50
Che di loro abbracciar mi facea ghiotto.
Poi cominciai: 'Non dispetto, ma doglia
La vostra condizion dentro mi fisse
Tanto che tardi tutta si dispoglia,
Tosto che questo mio Signor mi disse 55
Parole, per le quali io mi pensai
Che qual voi siete, tal gente venisse.
Di vostra terra sono; e sempre mai
L' opre di voi e gli onorati nomi
Con affezion ritrassi ed ascoltai. 60
Lascio lo fele, e vo per dolci pomi
Promessi a me per lo verace Duca;
Ma fino al centro pria convien ch' io tomi.'
'Se lungamente l' anima conduca
Le membra tue,' rispose quegli ancora, 65
'E se la fama tua dopo te luca,
Cortesia e valor di' se dimora
Nella nostra città sì come suole,
O se del tutto se n' è gita fuora?
Chè Guglielmo Borsiere, il qual si duole 70
Con noi per poco, e va là coi compagni,

61. *Pomi:* cf. *Purg.* XXVII, 115.
63. First I must descend, or 'fall,' to the centre of the earth.
64. We have here, as in l. 66, the familiar formula of adjuration: 'as thou hopest that . . .' or 'so may . . .': cf. X, 82.
68. *Suole:* for the use of the present, see l. 22.
70. The newly arrived Guglielmo Borsiere is known to us only through a story in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, I, 8. — *Per poco* = *da poco tempo*.

Assai ne cruccia con le sue parole.'
'La gente nuova e i subiti guadagni
Orgoglio e dismisura han generata,
Fiorenza, in te, sì che tu già ten piagni.' 75
Così gridai colla faccia levata;
E i tre, che ciò inteser per risposta,
Guatar l' un l' altro, come al ver si guata.
'Se l' altre volte sì poco ti costa,'
Risposer tutti, 'il satisfare altrui, 80
Felice te, che sì parli a tua posta.
Però se campi d' esti lochi bui
E torni a riveder le belle stelle,
Quando ti gioverà dicere: "Io fui,"
Fa' che di noi alla gente favelle.' 85
Indi rupper la rota, ed a fuggirsi
Ali sembiar le gambe loro snelle.
Un *ammen* non saria potuto dirsi
Tosto così, com' ei furo spariti;
Per che al Maestro parve di partirsi. 90
Io lo seguiva, e poco eravam iti,
Che il suon dell' acqua n' era sì vicino
Che per parlar saremmo appena uditi.
Come quel fiume ch' ha proprio cammino

73. Dante ascribes the degeneracy of Florence to sudden prosperity and to deterioration of the stock through immigration from the country. Instead of replying directly to his questioner, he lifts up his face toward the city and apostrophizes it. The three listeners look at one another, nodding, as people do when they hear the manifest truth.

79. *Sì poco ti costa*, 'it is so easy for thee.'

81. *A tua posta*, 'at will.' The spirits admire not only Dante's knowledge of the present, which they have lost, but his clear understanding and freedom of utterance. Perhaps they dimly foresee a time when it will not be so easy for him to 'satisfare altrui.'

84. Cf. *Æn.*, I, 203: 'forsan et hæc olim meminisse juvabit.'

85. 'Pray speak of us to people.' *Favelle*=*favelli*: cf. V, 19.

90. *Parve*, 'it seemed well.'

93. *Per parlar*, 'had we spoken.'

94. The roaring cataract in Hell is compared to the noisy falls of the

Prima da monte Veso in ver levante 95
Dalla sinistra costa d' Apennino,
Che si chiama Acquacheta suso, avante
Che si divalli giù nel basso letto,
Ed a Forlì di quel nome è vacante,
Rimbomba là sopra san Benedetto 100
Dell' Alpe, per cadere ad una scesa,
Ove dovria per mille esser ricetto;
Così, giù d' una ripa discoscesa,
Trovammo risonar quell' acqua tinta,
Sì che in poc' ora avria l' orecchia offesa. 105
Io aveva una corda intorno cinta,
E con essa pensai alcuna volta
Prender la lonza alla pelle dipinta.
Poscia che l' ebbi tutta da me sciolta,
Sì come il Duca m' avea comandato, 110
Porsila a lui aggroppata e ravvolta.
Ond' ei si volse inver lo destro lato,
Ed alquanto di lungi dalla sponda
La gittò giuso in quell' alto burrato.
'E pur convien che novità risponda,' 115
Dicea fra me medesmo, 'al nuovo cenno
Che il Maestro con l' occhio sì seconda.'

Montone, the first river on the left of the Apennines (as one descends into Italy) that has a course of its own to the Adriatic; the other streams run into the Po. *Monte Veso*, the Latin *Mons Vesulus*, is Monviso. One of the three upper branches of the Montone is the Acquacheta; at Forlì, Dante says, it gives up that name, and merges into the Montone.

100. *Rimbomba:* the subject of this verb is *quel fiume* in l. 94. S. Benedetto dell' Alpe is a little village, named after an ancient Benedictine abbey. The river roars because it falls over a single ledge, when it ought to be caught (*ricetto*) by a thousand. In dry weather the water trickles over a long series of steps at the side; when the stream is full, it pours straight down in the centre. This explanation of l. 102, sustained by Tor., is not the usual one, but it seems on the whole the most satisfactory.

112. Virgil swings to the right, as one does to make a long throw.

Ahi quanto cauti gli uomini esser denno
  Presso a color che non veggon pur l' oprâ,
  Ma per entro i pensier miran col senno! 120
Ei disse a me: 'Tosto verrà di sopra
  Ciò ch' io attendo, e che il tuo pensier sogna;
  Tosto convien ch' al tuo viso si scopra.'
Sempre a quel ver ch' ha faccia di menzogna
  De' l' uom chiuder le labbra finch' ei puote, 125
  Però che senza colpa fa vergogna;
Ma qui tacer nol posso, e per le note
  Di questa commedìa, lettor, ti giuro,
  S' elle non sien di lunga grazia vote,
Ch' io vidi per quell' aer grosso e scuro 130
  Venir notando una figura in suso,
  Maravigliosa ad ogni cor sicuro;
Sì come torna colui che va giuso
  Talora a solver àncora ch' aggrappa
  O scoglio od altro che nel mare è chiuso, 135
Che in su si stende e da piè si rattrappa.

118. *Denno* = *devono*.
125. *Dee* = *deve*. *Puote* = *può*.
126. It causes one to be unjustly suspected of falsehood.
127. *Le note:* Dante speaks of his poem as if it were a song. The names *commedia* and *tragedia* (which Dante accented on the *i*) were applied to non-dramatic poems composed respectively in a simple or a grand style; *tragedia*, according to the Letter to Cran Grande, also has an unhappy ending.
129. 'As I hope they may not want lasting favor': cf. X, 82.
136. To the observer above, a diver, returning to the surface, is foreshortened and magnified by the intervening water.

CANTO XVII

ARGUMENT

In the description of the usurers, squatting on the edge of the chasm, now brushing off the flakes of fire, now lifting themselves on their hands from the hot sand, we are shown guilty souls in a state of abominable degradation. Their faces have lost all human likeness; they can be recognized only by their money-bags, decked out with their coats of arms. To such a pass man can be brought by inordinate love of gold, which consumes his humanity and his very individuality. Doglike, bovine, disgusting as these creatures are, they came of noble stock. No poor Jews, but illustrious Italian Christians, are selected by the poet to point his moral.

The descent into the darkness, on Geryon's back, is suggestively pictured in quick, realistic touches. At first nothing but the monster himself is visible, and Dante's only consciousness of motion comes from the upward rush of the air. Gradually, at various points below, the fires of the eighth circle begin to glimmer, and lamentations reach his ear; but all is dim and mysterious.

In classical mythology Geryon, son of Chrysaor and Callirrhoë, was a three-headed giant king in Spain, who was killed by Hercules.

> 'Tergemini nece Geryonis spoliisque superbus
> Alcides aderat.' — *Æn.*, VIII, 202–3.

A passing reference to his shade, as a 'forma tricorporis umbræ,' is made in *Æn.*, VI, 289. To the mediæval scholar this triple nature apparently symbolized deceit. Boccaccio says, in his *Genealogia Deorum Gentilium*, I, 21, speaking of Dante's Fraud: 'Et inde Gerion dicta est, quia regnans apud Baleares insulas Gerion miti vulto blandisque verbis et omni comitatu consueverit hospites suscipere et demum sub hac benignitate sospites occidere.' He discusses the classic Geryon in XIII, 1 (numbered also 38).

The monstrous form ascribed to him by Dante was doubtless suggested in part by the locusts of Rev. ix, 7–11: 'And the shapes of the locusts were like unto horses prepared unto battle . . . and their faces were as the faces of men. . . . And they had tails like unto scorpions, and there were stings in their tails. . . . And they had a king over them, which is the angel of the bottomless pit. . . .' St. Thomas, in his commentary on this passage, tells us that the scorpion has a smooth and gentle countenance, to induce people to touch it. The belief that scorpions have attractive faces seems

to have been prevalent. Dante's image was profoundly modified, however, by Pliny's description — followed by Solinus — of a strange beast called Manticora (*Historia Naturalis*, VIII, 30), which has the face of a man, the body of a lion, and a tail ending in a sting like a scorpion's. Similar creatures are portrayed by Albertus Magnus (*De Animalibus*, Lib. XXII, Tr. ii, Cap. 1) and Brunetto Latini (*Trésor*, V, Ch. 59); all of these eat human flesh, and of one of them it is said that 'deceptos homines devorat.' On the appropriateness of an upright human face combined with a scorpion's sting, as an emblem of fraud, there is no need to dwell.

See F. Cipolla, *Il Gerione di Dante*, 1895; B. Soldati in *Giorn. stor.*, XLI, 84; R. T. Holbrook, *Dante and the Animal Kingdom*, 64.

'Ecco la fiera con la coda aguzza,
Che passa i monti e rompe i muri e l' armi;
Ecco colei che tutto il mondo appuzza.'
Sì cominciò lo mio Duca a parlarmi,
Ed accennolle che venisse a proda 5
Vicino al fin de' passeggiati marmi.
E quella sozza imagine di froda
Sen venne, ed arrivò la testa e il busto;
Ma in su la riva non trasse la coda.
La faccia sua era faccia d' uom giusto, 10
Tanto benigna avea di fuor la pelle;
E d' un serpente tutto l' altro fusto.
Due branche avea pilose infin l' ascelle;
Lo dosso e il petto ed ambedue le coste
Dipinte avea di nodi e di rotelle. 15
Con più color, sommesse e soprapposte,

3. *Appuzza*, 'infects.'
6. Near the end of the stony edge of the dike, upon which the poets had walked.
8. *Arrivò* is used in its most literal sense, 'brought ashore.'
12. *Fusto*, 'trunk.' *Serpente*: cf. Gen. iii, 1, 'Now the serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field.'
15. In mediæval pictures, dragons often have their whole bodies covered with little rings: cf. R. T. Holbrook, *Dante and the Animal Kingdom*, 63, 65.
16. *Sommesse*, 'woof' (the groundwork). *Soprapposte*, 'warp' (the embroidery).

Non fer mai drappo Tartari nè Turchi,
Nè fur tai tele per Aragne imposte.
Come talvolta stanno a riva i burchi
Che parte sono in acqua e parte in terra, 20
E come là tra li Tedeschi lurchi
Lo bevero s' assetta a far sua guerra,
Così la fiera pessima si stava
Sull' orlo che, di pietra, il sabbion serra.
Nel vano tutta sua coda guizzava, 25
Torcendo in su la venenosa forca,
Che a guisa di scorpion la punta armava.
Lo Duca disse: 'Or convien che si torca
La nostra via un poco infino a quella
Bestia malvagia che colà si corca.' 30
Però scendemmo alla destra mammella,
E dieci passi femmo in sullo stremo,
Per ben cessar la rena e la fiammella.
E quando noi a lei venuti semo,
Poco più oltre veggio in su la rena 35
Gente seder propinqua al loco scemo.

17. *Fer*=*fecero*: the object is *drappo*, the subject *Tartari nè Turchi*. The Tartars and Turks were famous for their cloths: cf. P. Toynbee in *Rom.*, XXIX, 559.
18. *Imposte*, 'designed.' Arachne was the famous weaver who challenged Minerva to a contest, and was turned into a spider: *Met.*, VI, 5 ff.
19. *Burchi*, 'skiffs.'
21. *Lurchi*, 'gluttonous.'
22. It was believed that the beaver caught fish with its tail, by dangling it in the water.
24. The sandy desert has an edge of rock, along the top of the cliff.
31. The poets, on leaving the wood, had mounted the nearer or right side of the embankment, and had walked on the right side of the stream; now, therefore, they must come down on the right side, else they would have to cross the boiling blood.
32. *Dieci* is probably used for an indefinite moderate number. — *Stremo*, 'verge.'
33. *Cessar*, 'avoid.'
36. The usurers, who did violence to human industry, are seated on the sand, close to the abyss.

Quivi il Maestro: 'Acciocchè tutta piena
  Esperienza d' esto giron porti,'
  Mi disse, 'va, e vedi la lor mena.
Li tuoi ragionamenti sian là corti. 40
  Mentre che torni parlerò con questa,
  Che ne conceda i suoi omeri forti.'
Così ancor su per la strema testa
  Di quel settimo cerchio tutto solo
  Andai, ove sedea la gente mesta. 45
Per gli occhi fuori scoppiava lor duolo;
  Di qua, di là soccorrien con le mani,
  Quando a' vapori, e quando al caldo suolo.
Non altrimenti fan di state i cani,
  Or col ceffo, or col piè, quando son morsi 50
  O da pulci o da mosche o da tafani.
Poi che nel viso a certi gli occhi porsi,
  Ne' quali il doloroso foco casca,
  Non ne conobbi alcun; ma io m' accorsi
Che dal collo a ciascun pendea una tasca, 55
  Che avea certo colore e certo segno;
  E quindi par che il loro occhio si pasca.
E com' io riguardando tra lor vegno,
  In una borsa gialla vidi azzurro,
  Che d' un leone avea faccia e contegno. 60
Poi, procedendo di mio sguardo il curro,
  Vidine un' altra, come sangue rossa,
  Mostrare un' oca bianca più che burro.
Ed un, che d' una scrofa azzurra e grossa

39. *Mena*, 'mien.'
60. A lion *azure* in *or* (*gold*): the arms of the Gianfigliazzi of Florence.
61. *Curro*, 'course.'
63. A goose *argent* ('whiter than butter') in *gules* (red): the arms of the Ubriachi of Florence.
64. A sow in brood *azure* in *argent*: the arms of the Scrovigni of Padua.

Segnato avea lo suo sacchetto bianco, 65
Mi disse: 'Che fai tu in questa fossa?
Or te ne va; e perchè se' vivo anco,
Sappi che il mio vicin Vitalïano
Sederà qui dal mio sinistro fianco.
Con questi Fiorentin son Padovano; 70
Spesse fïate m' intronan gli orecchi,
Gridando: "Vegna il cavalier sovrano,
Che recherà la tasca con tre becchi."'
Qui distorse la bocca e di fuor trasse
La lingua, come bue che il naso lecchi. 75
Ed io, temendo no 'l più star crucciasse
Lui che di poco star m' avea monito,
Torna' mi indietro dall' anime lasse.
Trovai lo Duca mio ch' era salito
Già su la groppa del fiero animale, 80
E disse a me: 'Or sii forte ed ardito!
Omai si scende per sì fatte scale.
Monta dinanzi, ch' io voglio esser mezzo,
Sì che la coda non possa far male.'
Qual è colui, ch' ha sì presso il riprezzo 85
Della quartana ch' ha già l' unghie smorte,
E trema tutto pur guardando il rezzo,
Tal divenn' io alle parole porte.
Ma vergogna mi fer le sue minacce,

68. Of Vitaliano, the only one of the usurers mentioned by name, we have no certain information.
73. Three eagles' beaks were the arms of the Buiamonte family of Florence. It is thought that the 'sovereign knight' of usurers is Gianni Buiamonte, who was of some prominence in the second half of the 13th century.
74. Cf. Isaiah lvii, 4: 'against whom make ye a wide mouth and draw out the tongue?'
76. *No*, 'lest.'
85. *Riprezzo*, 'chill.'
87. 'And is all of a shiver when he so much as looks at the shade.'
89. *Minacce* seems here to mean nothing more than 'exhortations.'

Che innanzi a buon signor fa servo forte. 90
Io m' assettai in su quelle spallacce;
Sì volli dir, ma la voce non venne
Com' io credetti: 'Fa' che tu m' abbracce.'
Ma esso che altra volta mi sovvenne
Ad altro forse, tosto ch' io montai, 95
Con le braccia m' avvinse e mi sostenne;
E disse: 'Gerïon, moviti omai.
Le rote larghe, e lo scender sia poco.
Pensa la nuova soma che tu hai.'
Come la navicella esce del loco 100
In dietro in dietro, sì quindi si tolse;
E poi ch' al tutto si sentì a giuoco,
Là ov' era il petto la coda rivolse,
E quella tesa, come anguilla, mosse,
E con le branche l' aria a sè raccolse. 105
Maggior paura non credo che fosse
Quando Fetòn abbandonò li freni,
Per che il ciel, come pare ancor, si cosse,
Nè quando Icaro misero le reni
Sentì spennar per la scaldata cera, 110
Gridando il padre a lui: 'Mala via tieni,'
Che fu la mia, quando vidi ch' i' era
Nell' aer d' ogni parte, e vidi spenta

95. *Forse*, 'doubt,' 'peril.'
102. *A giuoco*, 'at large.'
107. Phaeton, son of Phœbus, was carried away by the horses of the chariot of the sun, which he tried to drive: *Met.*, II, 150 ff., especially l. 200:

'Mentis inops gelida formidine lora remisit.'

108. The sky, scorched by the runaway chariot, still shows traces of it in the Milky Way. See *Conv.*, II, xv, 44–55.
109. Dædalus, to escape from Crete, fashioned wings for his son Icarus and himself and fastened them on with wax. In spite of his father's warning, the boy flew so high that the sun melted the wax, and, losing his wings, he fell into the sea. See *Met.*, VIII, 183 ff.

Ogni veduta fuor che della fiera.
Ella sen va nuotando lenta lenta; 115
Ruota e discende, ma non me n' accorgo,
Se non ch' al viso e disotto mi venta.
Io sentia già dalla man destra il gorgo
Far sotto noi un orribile stroscio;
Per che, con gli occhi in giù, la testa sporgo. 120
Allor fu' io più timido allo scoscio;
Perocch' io vidi fochi e sentii pianti,
Ond' io tremando tutto mi raccoscio.
E vidi poi, chè nol vedea davanti,
Lo scendere e il girar, per li gran mali 125
Che s' appressavan da diversi canti.
Come il falcon ch' è stato assai su l' ali,
Che senza veder logoro o uccello
Fa dire al falconiere: 'Oimè, tu cali,'
Discende lasso onde si mosse snello, 130
Per cento rote, e da lungi si pone
Dal suo maestro, disdegnoso e fello:
Così ne pose al fondo Gerïone
A piè a piè della stagliata rocca,
E discarcate le nostre persone, 135
Si dileguò, come da corda cocca.

118. *Gorgo*, 'rapids': the water of Phlegethon, at the foot of the cataract.
119. *Stroscio*, 'roar.'
121. *Allo scoscio* probably means 'in my straddle,' astride of Geryon.
123. *Mi raccoscio*, 'I crouch.'
125. *Mali*, 'torments.'
128. *Logoro*, 'lure.'
134. *A piè a piè*, 'at the very foot.' *Stagliata*, 'scarped.'
136. *Come da corda cocca*, 'like an arrow-notch from the bowstring.'

CANTO XVIII

ARGUMENT

To form an idea of the general structures of the eighth and ninth circles, one may think of a funnel with a shallow mouth and a thick spout. The upper part will represent the eighth circle, sloping down to the edge of a central hole ('un pozzo assai largo e profondo'), at the bottom of which is the ninth circle. Now let one imagine this upper part, the mouth of the funnel, horizontally corrugated, so that ten deep grooves run around it, one below the other. These are the ditches (*bolge* or *valli*) in which the various types of Fraud are punished. Furthermore, let one picture a number of strips running down the inside of the funnel from the outer edge to the beginning of the neck, like spokes converging upon a hub; and these strips should be conceived, not as flat, but as undulating, arching up over the grooves. The strips will correspond to certain sharp ridges of natural rock that traverse the circle, at intervals, from top to bottom, rising into high, steep bridges over the valleys, and resting on the intervening banks. These *scogli*, as they are called, form a set of embankments on which wayfarers — if such there be — may cross the circle without descending into the ditches. Dante gives to this circle the fantastic name of *Malebolge*, or 'Evil Pouches.' He compares the *bolge* and the *scogli* to a series of moats, with drawbridges, surrounding a castle in concentric rings.

In describing the double march of the lost souls in the first *bolgia*, Dante recalls a scene witnessed by many thousands in Rome in the Jubilee year of 1299–1300. The following account is borrowed from C. E. Norton's translation of the *Hell*, pp. 112–3: 'The Jubilee was instituted by Boniface VIII, who issued a Bull granting plenary indulgence for a year from Christmas, 1299, to all pilgrims to Rome who should spend fifteen days in the city, visit the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, and should confess and repent their sins The throng of pilgrims from all parts of Europe was enormous, and among other precautions for their safety was that here alluded to, a barrier erected lengthwise along the bridge of Sant' Angelo, in order that the crowd going to and coming from St. Peter's might pass in opposite directions without interference.'

The fraudulent are divided into ten categories, and some of these are subdivided. In the first *bolgia* are betrayers of women, who fall into two classes, panders (*ruffiani*) and seducers. They walk cease-

lessly around the bottom of their ditch, in two files, moving in opposite directions (like the pilgrims on the bridge), the panders on the outer, the seducers on the inner side. Horned devils scourge them with whips as they pass. Thus are sinners of this sort constantly goaded on by their mean passions. In Malebolge demons abound — not mere guardians, similar to those of the classic underworld, but malignant, tormenting fiends. There are no such spirits, however, in the second valley, where the punishment is simply nauseous filth and stench, a symbol of the unclean life of flatterers. To portray their abject vileness, the author deems no terms too gross.

Loco è in inferno detto Malebolge,
  Tutto di pietra e di color ferrigno,
  Come la cerchia che d' intorno il volge.
Nel dritto mezzo del campo maligno
  Vaneggia un pozzo assai largo e profondo, 5
  Di cui *suo loco* dicerò l' ordigno.
Quel cinghio che rimane adunque è tondo
  Tra il pozzo e il piè dell' alta ripa dura,
  Ed ha distinto in dieci valli il fondo.
Quale, dove per guardia delle mura 10
  Più e più fossi cingon li castelli,
  La parte dov' ei son rende figura:
Tale imagine quivi facean quelli.
  E come a tai fortezze dai lor sogli
  Alla ripa di fuor son ponticelli, 15
Così da imo della roccia scogli

3. The *cerchia* is the circular precipice between the 7th circle and the 8th.
5. *Vaneggia*, 'yawns.'
6. *Suo loco* (Latin), 'in the fitting place.' *Ordigno*, 'structure.'
7. *Cinghio*, 'belt,' i. e., the 8th circle, a wide ring between the surrounding precipice and the well.
10. In this involved passage *quale* modifies *figura*, the object of *rende;* the subject is *parte*.
14. *Sogli*=*soglie*, 'thresholds.'
15. *Alla ripa di fuor*, 'to the outermost bank,' i. e., to the further bank of the outermost moat.

Movien, che recidean gli argini e fossi
Infino al pozzo, che i tronca e raccògli.
In questo loco, dalla schiena scossi
Di Gerïon, trovammoci; e il Poeta 20
Tenne a sinistra, ed io retro mi mossi.
Alla man destra vidi nuova pieta,
Nuovi tormenti e nuovi frustatori,
Di che la prima bolgia era repleta.
Nel fondo erano ignudi i peccatori: 25
Dal mezzo in qua ci venian verso il volto,
Di là con noi, ma con passi maggiori;
Come i Roman, per l' esercito molto,
L' anno del Giubbileo, su per lo ponte
Hanno a passar la gente modo colto, 30
Che dall' un lato tutti hanno la fronte
Verso il castello, e vanno a santo Pietro,
Dall' altra sponda vanno verso il monte.
Di qua, di là, su per lo sasso tetro
Vidi Demon cornuti con gran ferze, 35
Che li battean crudelmente di retro.
Ahi come facean lor levar le berze
Alle prime percosse! Già nessuno
Le seconde aspettava nè le terze.
Mentr' io andava, gli occhi miei in uno 40

17. *Movien* = *movevano*. — *Recidean*, 'traversed.'
18. *Raccògli* = *li raccoglie*, 'gathers them in.' They all converge, like the spokes of a wheel, upon the *pozzo*, at the edge of which they stop.
26. On the nearer side of the bottom of the ditch, the sinners, in their circling course, were coming towards us; on the further side, they were going with us, but faster than we walked.
28. *Esercito*, 'host.'
30. *Modo colto*, 'adopted a measure.'
32. *Castello*: Sant' Angelo.
33. *Monte*: Monte Giordano, a slight eminence on the left of the river.
35. *Ferze* = *sferze*, 'whips.'
37. *Berze*, 'heels.'

Furo scontrati; ed io sì tosto dissi:
'Di già veder costui non son digiuno.'
Perciò a figurarlo i piedi affissi;
E il dolce Duca meco si ristette,
Ed assentì ch' alquanto indietro gissi. 45
E quel frustato celar si credette
Bassando il viso, ma poco gli valse;
Ch' io dissi: 'Tu che l' occhio a terra gette,
Se le fazion che porti non son false,
Venedico se' tu Caccianimico; 50
Ma che ti mena a sì pungenti Salse?'
Ed egli a me: 'Mal volentier lo dico;
Ma sforzami la tua chiara favella,
Che mi fa sovvenir del mondo antico.
Io fui colui che la Ghisolabella 55
Condussi a far la voglia del Marchese,
Come che suoni la sconcia novella.
E non pur io qui piango Bolognese:
Anzi n' è questo loco tanto pieno
Che tante lingue non son ora apprese 60
A dicer *sipa* tra Sàvena e Reno.

41. *Furo scontrati* = *si scontrarono*.
42. 'I am not fasting for previous sight of him,' i. e., I have seen him before.
49. *Fazion*, 'features.'
50. Venedico Caccianimico, of a prominent family of Bologna, was Podestà of Milan in 1275, of Pistoia in 1283.
51. 'What brings thee to such sharp sauce?' Probably there is a play upon *Salse*, the name of a ravine, three miles from Bologna, where bodies of criminals were thrown.
53. *Chiara favella*, 'plain speech': Dante shows himself well informed.
55. Ghisolabella was Venedico's sister, married to Niccolò Fontana of Ferrara.
56. *Marchese:* Obizzo da Este of Ferrara.
57. 'However the dirty story may be told': we know the incident only from Dante's words.
61. *Sipa* is an old Bolognese word for 'yes.' Bologna lies between the two rivers, Savena and Reno. The number of Bolognese panders in this ditch exceeds the number of all the living people who speak Bolognese.

E se di ciò vuoi fede o testimonio,
Recati a mente il nostro avaro seno.'
Così parlando il percosse un demonio
Della sua scurïada, e disse: 'Via, 65
Ruffian, qui non son femmine da conio.'
Io mi raggiunsi con la scorta mia;
Poscia con pochi passi divenimmo
Là dove un scoglio della ripa uscia.
Assai leggeramente quel salimmo, 70
E volti a destra su per la sua scheggia,
Da quelle cerchie eterne ci partimmo.
Quando noi fummo là dov' ei vaneggia
Di sotto, per dar passo agli sferzati,
Lo Duca disse: 'Attienti, e fa' che feggia 75
Lo viso in te di questi altri mal nati,
A' quali ancor non vedesti la faccia,
Perocchè son con noi insieme andati.'
Dal vecchio ponte guardavam la traccia
Che venia verso noi dall' altra banda, 80
E che la ferza similmente scaccia.
Il buon Maestro, senza mia domanda,
Mi disse: 'Guarda quel grande che viene,

65. *Scuriada*, 'scourge.'
66. *Da conio*, 'to be minted,' coined into money.
71. Up to this point the poets have been walking to the left on the bank between the high precipice and the first *bolgia;* they now turn to the right to cross this ditch. — *Scheggia*, 'ridge.'
72. They now turn their backs upon the upper terraces; and Dante, as he leaves them, reflects that these circles will remain forever unchanged.
73. *Dov' ei vaneggia:* where the ridge, as it crosses the ditch, has an opening beneath.
75. *Attienti:* 'take hold.' — *Fa' che feggia*, etc., 'let the sight of these . . . strike thee': *feggia* is the present subjunctive of *fiedere*. Dante is now to look down, at the right, on the seducers, whose faces he has not been able to see from the bank.
79. *Traccia*, 'file': cf. XII, 55.
80. *Banda*, 'side': the further, or inner, side of the ditch.

E per dolor non par lagrima spanda:
Quanto aspetto reale ancor ritiene! 85
Quelli è Jason, che per core e per senno
Li Colchi del monton privati fene.
Egli passò per l' isola di Lenno,
Poi che le ardite femmine spietate
Tutti li maschi loro a morte dienno. 90
Ivi con segni e con parole ornate
Isifile ingannò, la giovinetta,
Che prima avea tutte l' altre ingannate.
Lasciolla quivi gravida e soletta:
Tal colpa a tal martiro lui condanna; 95
Ed anco di Medea si fa vendetta.
Con lui sen va chi da tal parte inganna.
E questo basti della prima valle
Sapere, e di color che in sè assanna.'
Già eravam là 've lo stretto calle 100
Con l' argine secondo s' incrocicchia,
E fa di quello ad un altro arco spalle.
Quindi sentimmo gente che si nicchia
Nell' altra bolgia, e che col muso sbuffa,
E sè medesma con le palme picchia. 105

87. The 'tall' Jason despoiled the Colchians of the golden fleece: *Met.*, VII, 1–158. — *Fene*=*fece*.

90. *Dienno*=*diedero*. The women of Lemnos, forsaken by their husbands on account of a curse put upon them by Venus, agreed to murder all the males on the island.

91. *Segni*, 'tokens' of affection.

93. Hypsipyle had saved her father, King Thoas, by pretending to have killed him. See Statius, *Thebaid*, IV, V, VI.; Ovid, *Heroides*, VI.

96. For the story of Medea, beguiled by Jason, see *Met.*, VII.

97. *Da tal parte*, 'in that quarter,' i. e., in such a way.

99. *In sè assanna*, 'it holds in its fangs.'

100. The narrow ridge crosses the second bank (the further bank of the first ditch), and makes of this bank a buttress for a second arch. The ridge arches up over each ditch.

103. *Nicchiare* probably means 'to whimper.'

104. *Sbuffa*, 'snorts.'

Le ripe eran grommate d' una muffa
Per l' alito di giù che vi si appasta,
Che con gli occhi e col naso facea zuffa.
Lo fondo è cupo sì, che non ci basta
Loco a veder senza montare al dosso 110
Dell' arco, ove lo scoglio più soprasta.
Quivi venimmo, e quindi giù nel fosso
Vidi gente attuffata in uno sterco
Che dagli uman privati parea mosso:
E mentre ch' io laggiù con l' occhio cerco, 115
Vidi un col capo sì di merda lordo
Che non parea s' era laïco o cherco.
Quei mi sgridò: 'Perchè se' tu sì ingordo
Di riguardar più me che gli altri brutti?'
Ed io a lui: 'Perchè, se ben ricordo, 120
Già t' ho veduto coi capelli asciutti,
E sei Alessio Interminei da Lucca;
Però t' adocchio più che gli altri tutti.'
Ed egli allor, battendosi la zucca:
'Quaggiù m' hanno sommerso le lusinghe, 125
Ond' io non ebbi mai la lingua stucca.'
Appresso ciò lo Duca: 'Fa' che pinghe,'
Mi disse, 'il viso un poco più avante,

106. *Grommate*, 'coated.' *Muffa*, 'mould.'
107. *Si appasta*, 'sticks.'
108. *Facea zuffa*, 'quarrelled.'
109. *Cupo*, 'hollowed out.' *Non ci basta loco a veder*, 'there is not room enough to see,' because the bank overhangs.
111. *Più soprasta*, 'rises highest above.' From the middle of the bridge they can look in under the bank.
114. *Privati*, 'privies.'
122. Alessio Interminei (or Interminelli) belonged to a noble family of Lucca; we know nothing in particular about him, although his name occurs in several documents of the second half of the 13th century.
124. *Zucca*, 'pate,' a slang word.
126. *Stucca*, 'cloyed.'
127. *Pinghe* = *pinga*, i. e., *spinga*, 'thou push.'

Sì che la faccia ben con gli occhi attinghe
Di quella sozza e scapigliata fante 130
Che là si graffia con l' unghie merdose,
Ed or s' accoscia, ed ora è in piede stante.
Taïde è, la puttana, che rispose
Al drudo suo, quando disse: "Ho io grazie
Grandi appo te?" "Anzi meravigliose." 135
E quinci sien le nostre viste sazie.'

129. *Attinghe=attinga*, i. e., *raggiunga*, 'thou mayest reach.'
130. *Fante*, 'wench.'
132. *S' accoscia*, 'squats.'
133. Thais, the harlot, is a character in Terence's *Eunuchus*, to whom her lover, Thraso, has sent a present (III, 1). Dante, however, who presumably had not read Terence, got the incident from Cicero's *De Amicitia*, XXVI: 'Nulla est igitur hæc amicitia, cum alter verum audire non vult, alter ad mentiendum paratus est. Nec parasitorum in comœdiis assentatio nobis faceta videtur, nisi essent miles gloriosi. "Magnas vere agere gratias Thais mihi?" Satis erat respondere "magnas"; "ingentes" inquit. Semper auget assentator id, quod is, cujus ad voluntatem dicitur, vult esse magnum.' In reality it was the parasite, Gnatho, who said 'ingentes'; but Dante from this passage evidently supposed that it was Thais.

CANTO XIX

ARGUMENT

THE sin punished in the third *bolgia* is simony, the use of ecclesiastical office for private gain. Dante classifies it as Fraud, but it was generally regarded as an offence against the Holy Ghost. It derives its name from the Simon Magus of Acts viii, 9–24: 'But there was a certain man, called Simon, which beforetime in the same city used sorcery. . . . And when Simon saw that through laying on of the apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was given, he offered them money, saying, Give me also this power. . . . But Peter said unto him, Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money.' Inasmuch as this offence is one of perversion, it is symbolized by the culprit being turned upside down; and as the perverted trust is a holy one, God's anger falls upon the incumbent in the shape of fire, which, owing to his distorted attitude, burns not his head but his feet. The bottom and sides of this ditch are perforated with little round holes, from each of which project the writhing feet and ankles of a sinner. Somewhat similarly, in the *Visio Alberici*, XI, simonists are confined in a fiery well. Dante's flame, however, merely plays upon the surface of the soles, from which it seems to suck its food. This grotesque penalty is inflicted even upon mercenary Popes, all of whom appear to be sunk in one hole. The latest comer is at the top, 'planted like a stake,' with his feet in the air; the others, with each new arrival, are pushed further and further down, to flatten in the crevices of the rock. Dante and Virgil descend into this *bolgia* to converse with Pope Nicholas III. To him our traveller addresses, with the approval of Reason, though with some misgiving, a stinging rebuke, made all the more impressive by Dante's professed reluctance to show disrespect to a former wearer of the papal mantle.

The burrows of the simonists are compared to the pits for baptizers in the Baptistery of Florence, which Dante lovingly calls 'his beautiful San Giovanni.' Here all the new-born children of the city were baptized by immersion, most of them on June 24th, the day of St. John the Baptist. It would seem that to protect the priests from the throng, they were stationed in four cylindrical holes in the waist-high marble wall that surrounded the large circular font in the middle of the church. Dante takes this occasion to declare that

he once broke down one of these receptacles to save some one who was drowning inside, and adds:

'E questo sia suggel ch' ogni uomo sganni,'

'And let this be a seal — i. e., a document, an authoritative, final statement — that shall undeceive every one.' Apparently he introduces the subject in order to put a stop to false rumors concerning his act. We really know nothing about the curious incident, although Benvenuto da Imola, one of the early commentators, relates a circumstantial story of boys playing on the wall and one of them falling into one of the holes, from which he could not be extricated until rescued by Dante. Many such tales were quickly invented to explain obscure references in the poem. It may be surmised that the *dentro* refers, not to the baptizer's hole, but to the tank itself, from which the water had to be drawn to save a drowning baby that had slipped in.

For a comprehensive discussion of this canto, see D'Ovidio [2], 338.

O Simon mago, o miseri seguaci,
  Che le cose di Dio, che di bontate
  Deono essere spose, e voi rapaci
Per oro e per argento adulterate;
  Or convien che per voi suọni la tromba, 5
  Perocchè nella terza bolgia state.
Già eravamo alla seguente tomba
  Montati, dello scoglio in quella parte
  Che appunto sopra mezzo il fosso piomba.
O somma Sapïenza, quanta è l' arte 10
  Che mostri in cielo, in terra e nel mal mondo,
  E quanto giusto tua virtù comparte!

3. *Deono* = *devono*. The construction is broken: *voi* repeats the *che* at the beginning of l. 2. The *e* is superfluous and untranslatable; it is often idiomatically so used to introduce the principal clause when a dependent clause has preceded.
4. *Adulterate*, 'prostitute.'
5. Judicial sentences were proclaimed with a trumpet.
7. The *tomba* is the rocky bridge curving over the buried simonists in the ditch.
9. *Piomba*, 'hangs.'
12. *Giusto*: adverb.

Io vidi per le coste e per lo fondo
Piena la pietra livida di fori
D' un largo tutti, e ciascuno era tondo. 15
Non mi parean meno ampi nè maggiori
Che quei che son nel mio bel San Giovanni
Fatti per loco de' battezzatori;
L' un delli quali, ancor non è molt' anni,
Rupp' io per un che dentro vi annegava: 20
E questo sia suggel ch' ogni uomo sganni.
Fuor della bocca a ciascun soperchiava
D' un peccator li piedi, e delle gambe
Infino al grosso, e l' altro dentro stava.
Le piante erano a tutti accese intrambe; 25
Per che sì forte guizzavan le giunte
Che spezzate averìan ritorte e strambe.
Qual suole il fiammeggiar delle cose unte
Moversi pur su per l' estrema buccia,
Tal era lì da' calcagni alle punte. 30
'Chi è colui, Maestro, che si cruccia,
Guizzando più che gli altri suoi consorti,'
Diss' io, 'e cui più rossa fiamma succia?'
Ed egli a me: 'Se tu vuoi ch' io ti porti
Laggiù per quella ripa che più giace, 35
Da lui saprai di sè e de' suoi torti.'
Ed io: 'Tanto m' è bel, quanto a te piace.
Tu sei signore, e sai ch' io non mi parto

15. *Largo*=*larghezza*.
26. *Giunte*=*giunture*.
27. *Averian*=*avrebbero*.—*Ritorte*, 'withes.'—*Strambe*, 'grass ropes.'
29. *Buccia*, 'rind,' i. e., surface.
35. Inasmuch as all Malebolge slopes toward the central well, and the floors of the *bolge* are level, the inner bank of each ditch must be lower than the outer. There are several indications that the inner bank is also less steep than the other.
37. *M' è bel*, 'suits me.'

Dal tuo volere, e sai quel che si tace.'
Allor venimmo in su 'l argine quarto; 40
Volgemmo, e discendemmo a mano stanca
Laggiù nel fondo foracchiato ed arto.
Lo buon Maestro ancor della sua anca
Non mi dipose, sì mi giunse al rotto
Di quel che sì piangeva con la zanca. 45
'O qual che se', che 'l dì su tien di sotto,
Anima trista, come pal commessa,'
Comincia' io a dir, 'se puoi, fa' motto.'
Io stava come il frate che confessa
Lo perfido assassin, che poi ch' è fitto, 50
Richiama lui, per che la morte cessa.
Ed ei gridò: 'Sei tu già costì ritto,
Sei tu già costì ritto, Bonifazio?
Di parecchi anni mi mentì lo scritto.
Se' tu sì tosto di quell' aver sazio 55
Per lo qual non temesti torre a inganno
La bella Donna, e poi di farne strazio?'
Tal mi fec' io quai son color che stanno,
Per non intender ciò ch' è lor risposto,
Quasi scornati, e risponder non sanno. 60

41. *Mano stanca=sinistra.* After crossing the third *bolgia*, they went down into it from its inner bank.
44. Dante repeatedly uses *sì* in the sense of 'until': cf. l. 128 of this canto. *Rotto*, 'crevice.'
45. *Zanca*, 'shank.'
50. Murderers were planted, head downwards, in a hole, and buried alive. Dante probably recalls some scene actually witnessed, in which the murderer, to put off his death a few minutes, called back the priest, pretending that he had something more to confess. — *Cessa*, 'he postpones.'
53. The speaker, Nicholas III, thinks that his successor in simony, Boniface VIII, has arrived. But as Boniface was not to die until 1303, the book of destiny (*lo scritto*) seems to have lied.
55. *Aver*, 'wealth.'
56. *Torre a inganno*, 'to wed by guile': he was charged with having induced Celestine V to renounce the papacy (cf. III, 60).
57. *La bella Donna* is the Church, the Bride of Christ.

Allor Virgilio disse: 'Digli tosto,
"Non son colui, non son colui che credi."'
Ed io risposi come a me fu imposto.
Per che lo spirto tutti storse i piedi;
Poi sospirando, e con voce di pianto, 65
Mi disse: 'Dunque che a me richiedi?
Se di saper chi io sia ti cal cotanto
Che tu abbi però la ripa corsa,
Sappi ch' io fui vestito del gran manto.
E veramente fui figliuol dell' orsa, 70
Cupido sì, per avanzar gli orsatti,
Che su l' avere, e qui me misi in borsa.
Di sotto al capo mio son gli altri tratti
Che precedetter me simoneggiando,
Per le fessure della pietra piatti. 75
Laggiù cascherò io altresì, quando
Verrà colui ch' io credea che tu fossi,
Allor ch' io feci il subito dimando.
Ma più è il tempo già che i piè mi cossi
E ch' io son stato così sottosopra, 80
Ch' ei non starà piantato coi piè rossi;
Chè dopo lui verrà, di più laid' opra,

69. Cf. the *papale ammanto* of II, 27.
70. Giovanni Gaetano Orsini, Pope Nicholas III from 1277 to 1280, was notorious for his nepotism. The she-bear, *orsa*, was the cognizance in his family arms, so Dante calls his relatives *orsatti*, or 'cubs.'
72. 'On earth I pocketed wealth, and here I have pocketed myself.'
79. Nicholas has been there nearly twenty years, from August, 1280, to April, 1300. Boniface's feet will burn only about eleven years, from October, 1303, to April, 1314, when Clement V will die. This passage must have been written after the latter date.
82. After the brief pontificate of the good Benedict XI, Bertrand de Goth of Gascony became Pope in 1305 with the name of Clement V. He was noted for his greed and licentiousness, and became the unscrupulous tool of Philip the Fair of France. In 1309 he transferred the papal see to Avignon; he deceived the Emperor Henry VII, and aided Philip in the suppression of the Templars. Cf. *Par.* XVII, 82. — *Laid' opra*, 'ugly deed.'

Di ver ponente un pastor senza legge,
Tal che convien che lui e me ricopra.
Nuovo Iason sarà, di cui si legge 85
Ne' Maccabei; e come a quel fu molle
Suo re, così fia a lui chi Francia regge.'
Io non so s' io mi fui qui troppo folle,
Ch' io pur risposi lui a questo metro:
'Deh or mi di', quanto tesoro volle 90
Nostro Signore in prima da san Pietro
Che ponesse le chiavi in sua balìa?
Certo non chiese se non: "Viemmi retro."
Nè Pier nè gli altri tolsero a Mattia
Oro od argento, quando fu sortito 95
Al loco che perdè l' anima ria.
Però ti sta', che tu se' ben punito;
E guarda ben la mal tolta moneta
Ch' esser ti fece contra Carlo ardito.
E se non fosse che ancor lo mi vieta 100
La riverenza delle somme chiavi
Che tu tenesti nella vita lieta,
I' userei parole ancor più gravi;
Chè la vostra avarizia il mondo attrista,
Calcando i buoni e sollevando i pravi. 105
Di voi pastor s' accorse il Vangelista,

85. Clement is compared to the Jason of II Macc. iv and v, who bought the high-priesthood of King Antiochus. As Antiochus favored Jason, Philip will have Clement made Pope.
92. Mat. xvi, 19.
93. John xxi, 19.
94. Matthias was chosen apostle to fill the place of Judas: Acts i, 23–6.
99. From the beginning of his papacy, Clement was hostile to Charles of Anjou.
104. *La vostra avarizia*, 'the avarice of you and your like.'
106. See Rev. xvii: 'I will shew unto thee the judgment of the great whore that sitteth upon many waters: with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, . . . and I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet coloured beast,

Quando colei che siede sopra l' acque
Puttaneggiar co' regi a lui fu vista:
Quella che con le sette teste nacque
E dalle dieci corna ebbe argomento, 110
Fin che virtute al suo marito piacque.
Fatto v' avete Dio d' oro e d' argento;
E che altro è da voi all' idolatre,
Se non ch' egli uno e voi n' orate cento?
Ahi, Costantin, di quanto mal fu matre, 115
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote
Che da te prese il primo ricco patre!'
E mentre io gli cantava cotai note,
O ira o coscïenza che il mordesse,
Forte spingava con ambo le piote. 120
Io credo ben che al mio Duca piacesse,
Con sì contenta labbia sempre attese
Lo suon delle parole vere espresse.
Però con ambo le braccia mi prese,
E poi che tutto su mi s' ebbe al petto, 125
Rimontò per la via onde discese;
Nè si stancò d' avermi a sè distretto,

full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns.' Dante, dealing freely with this passage, combines the woman with the beast, and makes her the symbol of the corrupt Church. She was born with seven heads, the Sacraments, and had as her defence ten horns, the Commandments, as long as her husband, the Papacy, loved virtue.

112. Cf. Hosea viii, 4: 'of their silver and their gold they have made them idols.'

113. The idolater (for instance, those who made the golden calf) worships only one idol, but you worship everything that is of gold.

115. The Emperor Constantine was thought to have donated the Western Empire to St. Sylvester, the first Pope to hold temporal possessions. The document of this donation was preserved, and was generally considered authentic until the middle of the 15th century. Dante did not doubt its genuineness, but disputed the right of Constantine to give and of Sylvester to receive. — *Matre*=*madre*; *patre*, in l. 117, is for *padre*.

120. *Spingava*, 'kicked.' *Piote*, 'soles.'

122. *Labbia*, 'countenance.'

Sì mi portò sopra il colmo dell' arco
Che dal quarto al quinto argine è tragetto.
Quivi soavemente spose il carco — 130
Soave per lo scoglio sconcio ed erto,
Che sarebbe alle capre duro varco.
Indi un altro vallon mi fu scoperto.

128. *Sì:* cf. l. 44.
131. ***Soave = soavemente:*** **'gently, because of the steep, rugged ridge.'**

CANTO XX

ARGUMENT

In the fourth *bolgia* we have another instance of perversion — this time perversion of mental sight — symbolized by bodily distortion. The souls of soothsayers, who misused their great gift of intelligence to beguile their credulous fellows, have their heads twisted to the rear, so that they are obliged to walk backwards. They suffer constantly all the agony one would feel in the instant of neck-wringing; unable to make a sound, they pour forth their anguish in tears that flow down their backs. The aspect of this strange affliction makes Dante weep, before he recognizes any of the sinners; in other words, he is sorry for the penalty itself, and in so far rebels against God's will. For this, Reason chides him. 'The righteous shall rejoice when he seeth the vengeance,' says Ps. lviii, 10; and theologians aver that the fate of the damned should be contemplated, not with pain, but with satisfaction, as a manifestation of divine justice. In the *Visio S. Pauli* (ed. H. Brandes, p. 66), when St. Paul weeps at the sight of the infernal torments, his angelic guide remonstrates: 'Quid ploras? Vis plus esse misericors filio Dei?' So Virgil rebukes Dante, declaring:

'Qui vive la pietà quando è ben morta,'

which probably means: 'Here, in thy grief, pity shows life when by rights it is dead'; that is, in Hell there should be no such thing as compassion for punishment, and there is none, save for thy silly tears. See D'Ovidio, 77–80.

A meeting with the prophetess Manto, daughter of the Theban Tiresias, leads Virgil to launch forth into a lengthy account of the founding of Mantua, his native place. The town, he affirms, was named after this same woman, who, leaving Thebes, ended her long wanderings on the spot where it was afterwards built. Dante represents himself as listening respectfully but with only indifferent interest to the narrative, at the close of which he eagerly asks about the other souls. Now, the peculiar feature of this incident is that Dante here ascribes to Virgil quite another story from that indicated in the *Æneid*, X, 198–200:

'Ille etiam patriis agmen ciet Ocnus ab oris
Fatidicæ Mantus et Tusci filius amnis,
Qui muros matrisque dedit tibi, Mantua, nomen.'

According to this passage, then, it was Ocnus, son of a river-god and an entirely different Manto, who built and named Mantua. Dante knew of the Theban Manto from Statius; and he may have read in St. Isidore's *Origines*, XV, i, 59, or heard from local tradition, that it was she who founded Mantua. At any rate, he was convinced that the version of the tale in the *Æneid* was wrong and should be corrected; the correction he courteously put into the mouth of Virgil himself. But that is not all: the 'cruel virgin' involves us in a problem still more perplexing. In *Purg.* XXII, 113, Virgil assigns 'la figlia di Tiresia' to the Limbus, where he himself dwells. It is incredible that our poet should have forgotten where he had put Manto, after all the talk about her. We are almost forced to the conclusion that the passage in *Inf.* XX was written after the line in *Purg.* XXII, and that Dante neglected to alter the latter in accordance with the former. It is likely that in his first draft of *Inf.* XX he introduced the Etruscan Manto, and attributed to her the name of Mantua, as the *Æneid* does; but later, changing his view, substituted the Theban Manto, and wrote the verses as we have them.

For the time-reference at the end of the canto, see the general note at the beginning of the *Inferno*. — For an ingenious view of Virgil's attitude toward soothsayers, see D' Ovidio, 92–112, 118–46; cf. *Bull.*, X, 225. — For Manto and Mantua, see Moore, I, 173; F. Cipolla in *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto*, LXI, 159; *Bull.*, XII, 84.

Di nuova pena mi convien far versi,
  E dar materia al ventesimo canto
  Della prima canzon, ch' è de' sommersi.
Io era già disposto tutto quanto
  A riguardar nello scoperto fondo, 5
  Che si bagnava d' angoscioso pianto;
E vidi gente per lo vallon tondo
  Venir tacendo e lagrimando, al passo
  Che fanno le letane in questo mondo.
Come il viso mi scese in lor più basso, 10
  Mirabilmente apparve esser travolto

3. *Prima canzon:* the first *cantica* of the *Commedia*, dealing with souls 'sunk' in Hell.
9. *Letane*=*litanie*, slow-moving religious processions chanting litanies.

Ciascun tra 'l mento e 'l principio del casso;
Chè dalle reni era tornato il volto,
Ed indietro venir gli convenia,
Perchè il veder dinanzi era lor tolto. 15
Forse per forza già di parlasìa
Si travolse così alcun del tutto;
Ma io nol vidi, nè credo che sia.
Se Dio ti lasci, lettor, prender frutto
Di tua lezione, or pensa per te stesso, 20
Com' io potea tener lo viso asciutto,
Quando la nostra imagine da presso
Vidi sì torta che il pianto degli occhi
Le natiche bagnava per lo fesso.
Certo i' piangea, poggiato ad un de' rocchi 25
Del duro scoglio, sì che la mia scorta
Mi disse: 'Ancor sei tu degli altri sciocchi?
Qui vive la pietà quando è ben morta.
Chi è più scellerato che colui
Che al giudizio divin passion porta? 30
Drizza la testa, drizza, e vedi a cui
S' aperse agli occhi de' Teban la terra,
Per ch' ei gridavan tutti: "Dove rui,
Anfiarao? perchè lasci la guerra?"
E non restò di ruinare a valle 35
Fino a Minòs, che ciascheduno afferra.

12. *Casso*, 'chest.'
13. *Dalle reni*, 'toward the reins,' i. e., backwards.
16. *Parlasìa*=*paralisi*.
19. *Se Dio*, etc.: a formula of adjuration: cf. X, 82.
27. Art thou still a fool like other mortals?
30. *Passion porta*, 'feels compassion.'
33. *Rui*, Latin *ruis*, 'fallest': *Thebaid*, VIII, 84–5, 'Qui . . . præceps . . . per inane ruis.'
34. The story of Amphiaraus, the augur, one of the seven kings who besieged Thebes, is told by Statius in the *Thebaid*, VII, 815 ff. and VIII, 1 ff.
35. *A valle*, 'downward.'

Mira che ha fatto petto delle spalle.
  Perchè volle veder troppo davante,
  Diretro guarda, e fa retroso calle.
Vedi Tiresia, che mutò sembiante, 40
  Quando di maschio femmina divenne,
  Cangiandosi le membra tutte quante;
E prima poi ribatter gli convenne
  Li duo serpenti avvolti con la verga,
  Che rïavesse le maschili penne. 45
Aronta è quel che al ventre gli s' atterga,
  Che nei monti di Luni, dove ronca
  Lo Carrarese che di sotto alberga,
Ebbe tra bianchi marmi la spelonca
  Per sua dimora; onde a guardar le stelle 50
  E il mar non gli era la veduta tronca.
E quella che ricopre le mammelle,
  Che tu non vedi, con le trecce sciolte,
  E ha di là ogni pilosa pelle,
Manto fu, che cercò per terre molte, 55
  Poscia si pose là dove nacqu' io;
  Onde un poco mi piace che m' ascolte.
Poscia che il padre suo di vita uscìo,

39. *Retroso*, 'backward.'
40. Tiresias was a famous soothsayer of Thebes. The incident here referred to is related in *Met.*, III, 324–31: having struck with his stick two snakes that were together, he became a woman; seven years later, striking the same snakes again, he regained his male form.
45. *Le maschili penne*, 'his male plumage.'
46. *S' atterga*, 'backs up' to the belly of Tiresias, i. e., follows him. Aruns was an Etruscan soothsayer of Cæsar's time, of whom Lucan says, in *Phars.*, I, 586

'Aruns incoluit desertæ mœnia Lunæ.'

The mountain cave seems to be an invention of Dante, who was in Lunigiana in 1306.
47. *Ronca*, 'clips' branches on the mountains.
55. Manto was the daughter of Tiresias of Thebes.
58. *Uscìo = uscì; so gìo = gì*, i. e., *andò*.

E venne serva la città di Baco,
Questa gran tempo per lo mondo gìo. 60
Suso in Italia bella giace un laco
Appiè dell' alpe che serra Lamagna
Sopra Tiralli, ch' ha nome Benaco.
Per mille fonti, credo, e più si bagna,
Tra Garda e Val Camonica, Apennino 65
Dell' acqua che nel detto lago stagna.
Loco è nel mezzo là, dove il Trentino
Pastore, e quel di Brescia, e il Veronese
Segnar potria, se fesse quel cammino.
Siede Peschiera, bello e forte arnese 70
Da fronteggiar Bresciani e Bergamaschi,
Ove la riva intorno più discese.
Ivi convien che tutto quanto caschi
Ciò che in grembo a Benaco star non può,
E fassi fiume giù per verdi paschi. 75
Tosto che l' acqua a correr mette co,
Non più Benaco, ma Mincio si chiama

59. *Baco* for *Bacco*, an imperfect rhyme: cf. VIII, 17. Bacchus was the son of the Theban Semele. Thebes came under the rule of the tyrant Creon.

61. *Laco*=*lago*.

62. *Lamagna*=*Alemagna*, i. e., *Germania*.

63. *Tiralli*=*Tirolo*, 'Tyrol.' *Benaco* is Lake Garda; Garda rises on the east of it, Val Camonica is a long valley some distance west of it.

65. This very puzzling tiercet seems to mean that a certain Mt. Pennino, sometimes called Apennino, at the west of Benaco, has its lower slopes full of springs coming from the water of the lake.

67. There is a point in or near the lake where the dioceses of Trent, Brescia, and Verona meet, so that any one of the three bishops might *segnar*, make the sign of the cross, in that spot. Lines connecting the towns would make a triangle around the lake.

69. *Fesse*=*facesse*.

70. *Peschiera* is on the south side of the lake, where the shore is low. *Arnese* meant, among other things, 'armor,' that is to say, a shield or bulwark to resist the Brescians and the Bergamasques.

75. *Fassi*=*si fa*.

76. *Mette co*, 'begins.' *Co* is a dialect word for *capo*.

Fino a Governo, dove cade in Po.
Non molto ha corso, che trova una lama,
Nella qual si distende e la impaluda, 80
E suol di state talora esser grama.
Quindi passando la vergine cruda
Vide terra nel mezzo del pantano,
Senza cultura, e d' abitanti nuda.
Lì, per fuggire ogni consorzio umano, 85
Ristette co' suoi servi a far sue arti,
E visse, e vi lasciò suo corpo vano.
Gli uomini poi che intorno erano sparti
S' accolsero a quel loco, ch' era forte
Per lo pantan che avea da tutte parti. 90
Fer la città sopra quell' ossa morte;
E per colei che il loco prima elesse
Mantova l' appellar senz' altra sorte.
Già fur le genti sue dentro più spesse,
Prima che la mattìa di Casalodi 95
Da Pinamonte inganno ricevesse.
Però t' assenno, che se tu mai odi
Originar la mia terra altrimenti,
La verità nulla menzogna frodi.'
Ed io: 'Maestro, i tuoi ragionamenti 100
Mi son sì certi, e prendon sì mia fede,

78. At Governo, or Governolo, the river Mincio empties into the Po.
79. *Lama*, 'flat.'
81. *Grama*, 'noisome.'
91. *Fer* = *fecero*.
93. *Mantova*, 'Mantua.' *Sorte*, 'augury.'
95. The Ghibelline Pinamonte Bonaccorsi treacherously advised the Guelf Count Alberto da Casalodi, lord of Mantua, to exile the nobles so as to win the favor of the people. Stupidly following this counsel, and thus depriving himself of his support, Casalodi was driven from the city, with much slaughter and banishment of the Guelfs.
97. *Assenno*, 'warn.'
99. 'No falsehood shall defraud the truth.'

Che gli altri mi sarian carboni spenti.
Ma dimmi della gente che procede,
Se tu ne vedi alcun degno di nota;
Chè solo a ciò la mia mente rifiede.' 105
Allor mi disse: 'Quel che dalla gota
Porge la barba in sulle spalle brune,
Fu, quando Grecia fu di maschi vota
Sì che appena rimaser per le cune,
Augure, e diede il punto con Calcanta 110
In Aulide a tagliar la prima fune.
Eurìpilo ebbe nome, e così il canta
L' alta mia Tragedìa in alcun loco:
Ben lo sai tu, che la sai tutta quanta.
Quell' altro che ne' fianchi è così poco, 115
Michele Scotto fu, che veramente
Delle magiche frode seppe il gioco.
Vedi Guido Bonatti, vedi Asdente,

102. *Sarian* = *sarebbero*.
105. *Rifiede*, 'reverts.'
108. All the men of Greece had gone to the Trojan war.
113. *Tragedia*: cf. XVI, 127. The *Æneid*, which, according to l. 114, Dante knew by heart, 'sings' of this man *così*, i. e., with the name Eurypylus, in II, 114–5:

'Suspensi Eurypylum scitatum oracula Phœbi
Mittimus.'

The Greeks, in their doubt, send him to consult the oracle of Phœbus. In ll. 122–4 the augur Calchas is questioned about the will of the Gods. The two characters being thus associated in the poem, Dante inferred that Eurypylus, like Calchas, was a soothsayer, and that he assisted Calchas in determining 'the right moment for cutting the first cable at Aulis,' when the Greeks set sail for Troy. Cf. D' Ovidio, 147–9.
116. Michael Scot, the Scotch scholar, who lived many years at the court of Frederick II, had great repute as a sorcerer. Where Dante learned that he was 'spare in the flanks,' we do not know.
118. Guido Bonatti of Forlì, a famous astrologer of the 13th century, was at the court of Frederick II and several other princes. Asdente, a poor cobbler of Parma, of simple and modest disposition, was known far and wide as a prophet; in *Conv.*, IV, xvi, 59–71, Dante says that if, as some think, *nobile* meant 'essere da molti nominato e conosciuto . . . , Asdente, il calzolaio di Parma, sarebbe più nobile che alcuno suo cittadino.'

Che avere inteso al cuoio ed allo spago
Ora vorrebbe, ma tardi si pente. 120
Vedi le triste che lasciaron l' ago,
La spuola e il fuso, e fecersi indovine;
Fecer malìe con erbe e con imago.
Ma vienne omai, chè già tiene il confine
D' ambedue gli emisperi, e tocca l' onda 125
Sotto Sibilia, Caïno e le spine;
E già iernotte fu la luna tonda:
Ben ten dee ricordar, chè non ti nocque
Alcuna volta per la selva fonda.'
Sì mi parlava, ed andavamo introcque. 130

123. *Imago:* wax or silver images of people were melted, to bring about their death. Tor. cites two trials for this crime in 1317 and 1319; in the latter it was asserted that one of the Visconti had sought, for the working of this spell, the aid of 'Master Dante Alighieri of Florence.'

124. The subject of *tiene* is *Caino*. The Man in the Moon, in Italian folklore, is Cain, who carries a bundle of thorns, 'the fruit of the ground.' The moon is directly over the dividing line between the Hemisphere of Land and the Hemisphere of Water; this circle passes close to Seville on the west and the Ganges on the east. For an observer in Jerusalem, the moon, which is nearly over Seville, is just setting; it is about 6 A. M. To indicate the time of day more precisely, Virgil adds that the moon is one night past the full — 'yesternight the moon was round,' when its light was of some use to Dante in the 'deep wood'; it sets, then, somewhat after sunrise.

130. In *Vulg. El.*, I, xiii, 19, Dante cites *introcque* as a Florentine dialect word; it signifies 'meanwhile.'

CANTO XXI

ARGUMENT

In nearly all mediæval portrayals of the lower world the grotesque runs riot. Dante, while not discarding this element, has brought it within narrow bounds. In the fifth *bolgia*, however, he gives free rein to the comic spirit, which dominates this canto and the next. Here, too, he reflects, as nowhere else, the popular Christian conception of Hell. As in the *Visio Sancti Pauli*, a devil arrives carrying a lost soul, — although the damned, according to Dante's regular plan, should sink unaided to their proper place by the weight of their own sin. The guardians of this ditch are the roguish fiends of folklore; they are more or less individualized, receiving fantastic names. Their generic designation is *Malebranche*, 'Badpaws'; *Alichino* is perhaps the French *Hallequin*, leader of the Wild Hunt; *Farfarello* seems to be a traditional demon-name; *Barbariccia*, *Cagnazzo*, *Graffiacane*, *Malacoda*, *Rubicante* mean respectively 'Curlybeard,' 'Mean Dog,' 'Dogscratcher,' 'Badtail,' 'Rubicund.' Some of the appellations appear to be ludicrous distortions of the names of real people: there was a prominent Malabranca family in Rome; the Raffacani were numerous in Florence; a Pietro di Malacoda is attested; and Torraca cites, among others, Canasso, Scaldabrina, Ciriolo, Dragonetto, Biccicocco, Scormiglio, which are not unlike *Cagnazzo*, *Calcabrina*, *Ciriatto*, *Draghignazzo*, *Libicocco*, *Scarmiglione*. The whole humorous interlude, characterized by coarseness of incident and language, serves both to express contempt for the sinners and their earthly judges, and to afford a relief from the horrors that precede and follow.

The peculiarity of swindlers is that they do dirty work in the dark; and unless they remain under cover, they are seized by the officers of the law. So Dante's barrators, or grafters, pursue their eternal career beneath the surface of a ditch full of boiling pitch, and demons stand ready to snatch them with hooks, if they attempt to 'air themselves.' Cunning as they were on earth, they still incessantly scheme to cheat and elude their watchers; and these, just as tricky and far more vile and mischievous, are as eager to catch the innocent as the guilty. Dante himself barely evades their wiles, even Reason being temporarily deceived, though human instinct is apprehensive. The poet here introduces a bit of autobiography. It will be remembered that in 1302 he was accused (as a pretext for

banishment) of several crimes, among them barratry committed when he was prior, in 1300; and was condemned to death by fire if taken in Florentine territory. In reality, then, as in the *Comedy*, he had a narrow escape from infernal machinations. The mention of the pitch leads to a lifelike description of the great arsenal, or shipyard, in Venice, famous during and after the Middle Ages, where the sailors, as is the habit of seafaring folk the world over, utilize the enforced idleness of winter to repair their damaged craft.

To entrap Dante and his too confiding guide, the leader of the Malebranche informs them that though the nearest bridge over the following valley is broken, the next ridge will afford them a safe passage. This arch was shattered, he says, when Christ descended into Hell, 1266 years ago yesterday, and five hours later in the day. Now Dante, in *Conv.*, IV, xxiii, 92-110, after expressing the opinion that the age of thirty-five is the culminating point of the perfect human life, continues: 'E movemi questa ragione, che ottimamente naturato fue il nostro Salvadore Cristo, il quale volle morire nel trentaquattresimo anno della sua etade; chè non era convenevole la Divinità stare così in discrescere. Nè da credere è ch' Egli non volesse dimorare in questa nostra vita al sommo, poichè stato c' era nel basso stato della puerizia. E ciò ne manifesta l' ora del giorno della sua morte, chè volle quella consomigliare colla vita sua; onde dice Luca che era quasi ora sesta quando morìo, che è a dire lo colmo del dì. Onde si può comprendere per quello quasi che al trentacinquesimo anno di Cristo era il colmo della sua età.' Not only is this argument curiously lame, but its very foundation is false, for Luke does not state that 'era quasi ora sesta' when Christ died. What he does say (xxiii, 44-5), after recording the conversation between Jesus and the thief, is: 'And it was about the sixth hour, and there was a darkness over all the earth until the ninth hour. And the sun was darkened, and the veil of the temple was rent in the midst.' Matthew (xxvii, 45, 46, 51) and Mark (xv, 33, 34, 38) agree in putting the crucifixion and the beginning of the darkness at the sixth hour (noon), the death and the rending of the veil of the temple at the ninth (3 P. M.); and there is nothing in Luke's vaguer statement that is inconsistent with this. If Dante, when he wrote Canto XXI, still adhered to the opinion set forth in the *Convivio*, the colloquy between Virgil and the fiend occurred at 7 A. M., five hours before noon; if, on the other hand, he had rejected this untenable view, the hour was 10 A. M. It was, in any case, the morning of Saturday, April 9, the day following Good Friday, in the year 1300, counting from the Conception — 1266 years after the death of Christ, who expired, according to Dante's belief, at the age of thirty-three, just thirty-four years after the Conception.

Così di ponte in ponte, altro parlando
Che la mia commedìa cantar non cura,
Venimmo, e tenevamo il colmo, quando
Ristemmo per veder l' altra fessura
Di Malebolge e gli altri pianti vani; 5
E vidila mirabilmente oscura.
Quale nell' Arzanà de' Viniziani
Bolle l' inverno la tenace pece
A rimpalmar li legni lor non sani, —
Chè navicar non ponno, e in quella vece 10
Chi fa suo legno nuovo, e chi ristoppa
Le coste a quel che più vïaggi fece;
Chi ribatte da proda, e chi da poppa;
Altri fa remi, ed altri volge sarte;
Chi terzeruolo ed artimon rintoppa: 15
Tal, non per foco ma per divina arte
Bollia laggiuso una pegola spessa
Che inviscava la ripa da ogni parte.
Io vedea lei, ma non vedeva in essa
Ma' che le bolle che il bollor levava, 20
E gonfiar tutta, e riseder compressa.
Mentr' io laggiù fisamente mirava,
Lo Duca mio, dicendo: 'Guarda, guarda,'
Mi trasse a sè del loco dov' io stava.
Allor mi volsi come l' uom cui tarda 25
Di veder quel che gli convien fuggire,

3. *Colmo:* the summit of the bridge over the fifth *bolgia.*
7. *Quale* connects with the *tal* of l. 16. *Arzanà* (Venetian) = *arsenale.*
10. *In quella vece,* 'instead.'
11. *Ristoppa,* 'caulks.'
15. *Terzeruolo,* 'foresail.' *Artimon,* 'mainsail.' *Rintoppa,* 'patches.'
17. *Pegola,* 'pitch.'
18. *Inviscava,* 'coated.'
20. *Ma'* (Latin *magis*) = *più:* cf. IV, 26.
25. *Cui tarda,* 'who longs': cf. IX, 9.

E cui paura subita sgagliarda,
Che per veder non indugia il partire;
E vidi dietro a noi un diavol nero
Correndo su per lo scoglio venire. 30
Ahi quanto egli era nell' aspetto fiero!
E quanto mi parea nell' atto acerbo,
Con l' ali aperte, e sopra il piè leggiero!
L' omero suo, ch' era acuto e superbo,
Carcava un peccator con ambo l' anche, 35
E quei tenea de' piè ghermito il nerbo.
Del nostro ponte disse, 'O Malebranche,
Ecco un degli anzïan di santa Zita.
Mettetel sotto, ch' io torno per anche
A quella terra ch' i' n' ho ben fornita: 40
Ognun v' è barattier, fuor che Bonturo.
Del *no*, per li denar, vi si fa *ita*.'
Laggiù il buttò, e per lo scoglio duro
Si volse, e mai non fu mastino sciolto
Con tanta fretta a seguitar lo furo. 45
Quei s' attuffò, e tornò su convolto;
Ma i demon, che del ponte avean coperchio,
Gridar: 'Qui non ha loco il Santo Volto!

27. *Sgagliarda*, 'dismays.'
34. *Superbo*, 'high.' *Omero* is the object of *carcava*; the subject is *peccator*.
36. *Ghermito*, 'gripped.' *Nerbo*, 'sinew.'
37. *Del* here, as frequently, means *dal*.
38. The chief magistrates of Lucca were called Ancients. Santa Zita, who lived in the 13th century, was the special patron saint of Lucca.
39. *Anche*, 'more.'
41. *Fuor che Bonturo* is ironical: Bonturo Dati, boss of Lucca, was the worst grafter of all; in 1300 he was at the height of his power.
42. The Latin *ita* was used in clerical language for 'yes.'
46. *Convolto*, 'hunched up.' His shape suggests to the humorous demons the attitude of prayer.
48. *Non ha loco*, 'has no business.' The 'Holy Face,' a very ancient image of Christ, ascribed to Nicodemus, was held in great veneration in Lucca, and was invoked in time of need. Cf. W. Foerster in *Mélanges Chabaneau*, 1–56.

Qui si nuota altrimenti che nel Serchio!
Però se tu non vuoi de' nostri graffi, 50
Non far sopra la pegola soperchio.'
Poi l' addentar con più di cento raffi;
Disser: 'Coperto convien che qui balli,
Sì che, se puoi, nascosamente accaffi.'
Non altrimenti i cuochi ai lor vassalli 55
Fanno attuffare in mezzo la caldaia
La carne cogli uncin, perchè non galli.
Lo buon Maestro: 'Acciocchè non si paia
Che tu ci sii,' mi disse, 'giù t' acquatta
Dopo uno scheggio che alcun schermo t' àia; 60
E per nulla offension che mi sia fatta,
Non temer tu, ch' io ho le cose conte,
Perchè altra volta fui a tal baratta.'
Poscia passò di là dal co del ponte,
E com' ei giunse in su la ripa sesta, 65
Mestier gli fu d' aver sicura fronte.
Con quel furor e con quella tempesta
Ch' escono i cani addosso al poverello,
Che di subito chiede ove s' arresta,
Usciron quei di sotto al ponticello, 70
E volser contra lui tutti i roncigli;

49. The Serchio is a stream near Lucca.
50. *Graffi*, 'hooks.'
51. *Far soperchio*, 'project.'
52. *Raffi*, 'prongs.'
54. *Accaffi*, 'grab.'
55. *Vassalli*, 'scullions.'
57. *Galli*, 'float.'
59. *T' acquatta*, 'squat.'
60. *Uno scheggio*, 'a block' of stone on the bridge.—*Aia*=*abbia*.
62. *Conte*, 'known.'
63. *Baratta*, 'wrangle.'
64. *Co*=*capo*: cf. XX, 76.
69. He stops and begs where he is, instead of going up to the house.
71. *Roncigli*, 'grapples.'

Ma ei gridò : 'Nessun di voi sia fello.
Innanzi che l' uncin vostro mi pigli,
Traggasi avanti l' un di voi che m' oda,
E poi d' arroncigliarmi si consigli.' 75
Tutti gridaron : 'Vada Malacoda.'
Per che un si mosse, e gli altri stetter fermi ;
E venne a lui dicendo : 'Che gli approda?'
'Credi tu, Malacoda, qui vedermi
Esser venuto,' disse il mio Maestro, 80
'Sicuro già da tutti vostri schermi,
Senza voler divino e fato destro?
Lasciane andar, chè nel cielo è voluto
Ch' io mostri altrui questo cammin silvestro.'
Allor gli fu l' orgoglio sì caduto, 85
Che si lasciò cascar l' uncino ai piedi,
E disse agli altri : 'Omai non sia feruto.'
E il Duca mio a me : 'O tu, che siedi
Tra gli scheggion del ponte quatto quatto,
Sicuramente omai a me tu riedi.' 90
Per ch' io mi mossi, ed a lui venni ratto ;
E i diavoli si fecer tutti avanti,
Sì ch' io temetti non tenesser patto.
E così vid' io già temer li fanti
Ch' uscivan patteggiati di Caprona, 95
Veggendo sè tra nimici cotanti.
Io m' accostai con tutta la persona
Lungo il mio Duca, e non torceva gli occhi
Dalla sembianza lor, ch' era non buona.

78. *Approda*, 'profits.'
89. *Scheggion*, 'splinters.' *Quatto quatto*, 'all asquat.'
95. *Patteggiati*, 'under safe-conduct.' Caprona, a town on the Arno, surrendered in 1289 to the troops of Lucca and Florence. It is evident from these lines that Dante was serving with the Florentines.

Ei chinavan li raffi, e: 'Vuoi che 'l tocchi,' 100
Diceva l' un con l' altro, 'in sul groppone?'
E rispondean: 'Sì, fa' che gliele accocchi.'
Ma quel demonio che tenea sermone
Col Duca mio, si volse tutto presto
E disse: 'Posa, posa, Scarmiglione.' 105
Poi disse a noi: 'Più oltre andar per questo
Iscoglio non si può, perocchè giace
Tutto spezzato al fondo l' arco sesto.
E se l' andare avanti pur vi piace,
Andatevene su per questa grotta; 110
Presso è un altro scoglio che via face.
Ier, più oltre cinqu' ore che quest' otta,
Mille dugento con sessanta sei
Anni compiè, che qui la via fu rotta.
Io mando verso là di questi miei 115
A riguardar s' alcun se ne sciorina;
Gite con lor, ch' ei non saranno rei.'
'Tratti avanti, Alichino e Calcabrina,'
Cominciò egli a dire, 'e tu, Cagnazzo,
E Barbariccia guidi la decina. 120
Libicocco vegna oltre, e Draghignazzo,
Ciriatto sannuto, e Graffiacane,
E Farfarello, e Rubicante pazzo.

101. *Groppone*, 'rump.'
102. *Gliele accocchi*, 'give it to him.' In early Italian *le* was often used, after *glie*, as an invariable pronoun.
107. *Iscoglio = scoglio.*
110. *Grotta*, 'bank.'
112. *Ier* is the subject of *compiè;* the object is *anni.*—*Più oltre*, 'later.' *Otta = ora:* cf. V, 53.
116. *Se ne sciorina*, 'is airing himself': whether any of the sinners is emerging from the pitch.
117. *Rei*, 'wicked.'
120. *Decina*, 'squad of ten.'
122. *Sannuto*, 'tusked.'

Cercate intorno le boglienti pane.
  Costor sien salvi insino all' altro scheggio, 125
  Che tutto intero va sopra le tane.'
'O me! Maestro, che è quel che io veggio?'
  Diss' io: 'deh! senza scorta andiamci soli,
  Se tu sai ir, ch' io per me non la chieggio.
Se tu sei sì accorto come suoli, 130
  Non vedi tu ch' ei digrignan li denti,
  E colle ciglia ne minaccian duoli?'
Ed egli a me: 'Non vo' che tu paventi.
  Lasciali digrignar pure a lor senno,
  Ch' ei fanno ciò per li lessi dolenti.' 135
Per l' argine sinistro volta dienno;
  Ma prima avea ciascun la lingua stretta
  Coi denti, verso lor duca per cenno,
Ed egli avea del cul fatto trombetta.

124. *Pane*=*panie*, 'bird-lime,' 'glue.'
129. *Chieggio*=*chiedo*.
132. *Duoli*, 'harm.'
134. *A lor senno*, 'as they will.'
135. *Lessi*, 'boiled': the sinners in the pitch.
136. *Dienno*=*diedero*. They proceed along the bank, at the left of the bridge.

CANTO XXII

ARGUMENT

OPENING in mock heroic continuation of the gross theme immediately preceding, this canto goes on to describe the ways of grafters — who, it would seem, are especially rife in remote dependencies. It relates the capture of one of them by the infernal sleuth-hounds, and his clever escape from the domineering Barbariccia, the suspicious Cagnazzo, the over-confident Alichino, the quarrelsome Calcabrina, and their fierce comrades.

Io vidi già cavalier muover campo,
  E cominciare stormo, e far lor mostra,
  E talvolta partir per loro scampo;
Corridor vidi per la terra vostra,
  O Aretini, e vidi gir gualdane, 5
  Ferir torneamenti, e correr giostra,
Quando con trombe, e quando con campane,
  Con tamburi e con cenni di castella,
  E con cose nostrali e con istrane:
Nè già con sì diversa cennamella 10
  Cavalier vidi muover, nè pedoni,
  Nè nave a segno di terra o di stella.
Noi andavam con li dieci dimoni.
  Ahi fiera compagnia! ma nella chiesa
  Coi santi, ed in taverna coi ghiottoni. 15

2. *Stormo*, 'battle.' *Mostra*, 'muster.'
4. *Corridor*, 'scouts.' Dante was present at the battle of Campaldino, in 1289, when the forces of Arezzo (the 'Aretines') were defeated by those of Florence and Lucca.
5. *Gualdane*, 'foraging parties.'
8. *Cenni*, 'signals.'
9. *Nostrali*, 'native.' *Istrane*, 'foreign.'
10. *Cennamella*, 'pipe.' *Diversa* here, as often, means 'strange.'
15. This sounds like a popular proverb. Cf. Ps. xviii, 26: 'With the pure

Pure alla pegola era la mia intesa,
  Per veder della bolgia ogni contegno,
  E della gente ch' entro v' era incesa.
Come i delfini, quando fanno segno
  Ai marinar con l' arco della schiena, 20
  Che s' argomentin di campar lor legno,
Talor così ad alleggiar la pena
  Mostrava alcun dei peccatori il dosso,
  E nascondeva in men che non balena.
E come all' orlo dell' acqua d' un fosso 25
  Stanno i ranocchi pur còl muso fuori,
  Sì che celano i piedi e l' altro grosso,
Sì stavan d' ogni parte i peccatori;
  Ma come s' appressava Barbariccia,
  Così si ritraean sotto i bollori. 30
Io vidi, ed anco il cor me n' accapriccia,
  Uno aspettar così, com' egli incontra
  Che una rana rimane, ed altra spiccia.
E Graffiacan, che gli era più d' incontra,
  Gli arronciglìò le impegolate chiome, 35
  E trassel su, che mi parve una lontra.
Io sapea già di tutti quanti il nome,
  Sì li notai quando furono eletti,
  E poi che si chiamaro, attesi come.
'O Rubicante, fa' che tu gli metti 40

thou wilt shew thyself pure; and with the froward thou wilt shew thyself froward'; see also II Sam. xii, 26.

16. *Pure*, 'only.' *Intesa*, 'attention.'

17. *Contegno*, 'condition.'

21. *S' argomentin*, 'take measures.' The belief that dolphins warn sailors of an approaching storm was very common: see Tor.

22. *Alleggiar*, 'alleviate.'

32. *Egli incontra*, 'it happens.'

33. *Spiccia*, 'hurries off.'

37. Dante explains how it is that he knows the name of this demon.

39. 'And when they were called by name, I noticed how.'

Gli unghioni addosso sì che tu lo scuoi,'
Gridavan tutti insieme i maledetti.
Ed io: 'Maestro mio, fa', se tu puoi,
Che tu sappi chi è lo sciagurato
Venuto a man degli avversari suoi.' 45
Lo Duca mio gli s' accostò allato,
Domandollo ond' ei fosse, e quei rispose:
'Io fui del regno di Navarra nato.
Mia madre a servo d' un signor mi pose,
Che m' avea generato d' un ribaldo 50
Distruggitor di sè e di sue cose.
Poi fui famiglio del buon re Tebaldo;
Quivi mi misi a far baratteria,
Di che io rendo ragione in questo caldo.'
E Ciriatto, a cui di bocca uscìa 55
D' ogni parte una sanna come a porco,
Gli fe' sentir come l' una sdrucìa.
Tra male gatte era venuto il sorco;
Ma Barbariccia il chiuse con le braccia,
E disse: 'State in là, mentr' io lo inforco.' 60
Ed al Maestro mio volse la faccia:
'Domanda,' disse, 'ancor, se più desii
Saper da lui, prima ch' altri il disfaccia.'
Lo Duca: 'Dunque or di', degli altri rii

46. *Allato*, 'beside.'
48. Some of the early commentators ascribe to this man from Navarre the name of Ciampolo or Giampolo, but we really know of him only what Dante tells us.
50. *Ribaldo*, 'rogue.'
52. Thibaut V, count of Champagne, son-in-law of Louis IX of France, was king of Navarre in the middle of the 13th century. — *Famiglio*, 'retainer.'
54. *Rendo ragione*, 'pay reckoning.' Cf. Luke xvi, 2: 'redde rationem,' 'give an account.'
58. *Sorco*=*sorcio*.
60. *Lo inforco*, 'hold him forked,' i.e., in my clutches.
64. *Rii*=*rei*.

Conosci tu alcun che sia Latino 65
Sotto la pece?' E quegli: 'Io mi partii
Poco è da un che fu di là vicino;
Così foss' io ancor con lui coperto,
Ch' io non temerei unghia nè uncino.'
E Libicocco: 'Troppo avem sofferto,' 70
Disse, e presegli il braccio col ronciglio,
Sì che, stracciando, ne portò un lacerto.
Draghignazzo anco i volle dar di piglio
Giuso alle gambe; onde il decurio loro
Si volse intorno intorno con mal piglio. 75
Quand' elli un poco rappaciati foro,
A lui, che ancor mirava sua ferita,
Domandò il Duca mio senza dimoro:
'Chi fu colui, da cui mala partita
Di' che facesti per venire a proda?' 80
Ed ei rispose: 'Fu frate Gomita,
Quel di Gallura, vasel d' ogni froda,
Ch' ebbe i nimici di suo donno in mano,
E fe' sì lor, che ciascun se ne loda:

65. *Latino*, 'Italian.'
67. *Poco è*, 'a little while ago.' *Di là vicino*, 'from near there,' i. e., from an island near Italy.
72. *Lacerto*, 'sinew.'
73. *I*=*gli*. *Dar di piglio*, 'lay hold': cf. XII, 105.
74. *Decurio*, 'decurion,' leader of the *decina*.
75. *Piglio*, 'look.' In Italian, as in French, words of identical form may rhyme together, if the sense is different.
76. *Rappaciati*, pacified.' *Foro*=*furono*.
78. *Dimoro*, 'delay.'
79. *Mala partita*, 'luckless parting': cf. ll. 66–8.
82. The Pisans, who conquered Sardinia, divided it into four provinces, or *giudicati*, Gallura, Logudoro, Arborea, and Cagliari, each of which was governed by a *giudice*. The early commentators say that the governor of Gallura, at the time of this Friar Gomita, was Nino Visconti, who appears in *Purg*. VIII, 53. It is said that Gomita was hanged.
83. *Donno*, 'master.'
84. *Se ne loda*, 'is thankful to him for it.'

Denar si tolse, e lasciolli di piano, 85
  Sì com' ei dice; e negli altri offizi anche
  Barattier fu non picciol, ma sovrano.
Usa con esso donno Michel Zanche
  Di Logodoro; ed a dir di Sardigna
  Le lingue lor non si sentono stanche. 90
O me! vedete l' altro che digrigna!
  Io direi anco; ma io temo ch' ello
  Non s' apparecchi a grattarmi la tigna.'
E il gran proposto, volto a Farfarello,
  Che stralunava gli occhi per ferire, 95
  Disse: 'Fatti in costà, malvagio uccello.'
'Se voi volete vedere o udire,'
  Ricominciò lo spaurato appresso,
  'Toschi o Lombardi, io ne farò venire.
Ma stien le male branche un poco in cesso, 100
  Sì ch' ei non teman delle lor vendette;
  Ed io, sedendo in questo loco stesso,
Per un ch' io son, ne farò venir sette,
  Quand' io sufolerò, com' è nostr' uso
  Di fare allor che fuori alcun si mette.' 105
Cagnazzo a cotal motto levò il muso,
  Crollando il capo, e disse: 'Odi malizia

85. *Lasciolli di piano*, 'let them go without legal process.' *Di piano* = Latin *de planu*: cf. *Bull.*, IX, 257.

88. *Usa*, 'frequents.' Michel Zanche is not mentioned in any document; he is said to have been vicar of King Enzo of Sardinia, son of Frederick II. From XXXIII, 144, we learn that he was murdered by Branca Doria.

92. *Anco*, 'more.'

94. *Proposto*, 'provost.'

98. *Spaurato*, 'reassured.'

100. *In cesso*, 'aside.'

103. 'Seven times as many as I am.'

104. *Sufolerò*, 'I shall whistle.' He says it is the custom, among these souls, that one shall peep out, and whistle if the coast is clear.

107. *Malizia*, 'trick.'

Ch' egli ha pensata per gittarsi giuso.'
Ond' ei ch' avea lacciuoli a gran divizia,
Rispose: 'Malizioso son io troppo, 110
Quand' io procuro a' miei maggior tristizia.'
Alichin non si tenne, e di rintoppo
Agli altri disse a lui: 'Se tu ti cali,
Io non ti verrò dietro di galoppo,
Ma batterò sopra la pece l' ali. 115
Lascisi il colle, e sia la ripa scudo,
A veder se tu sol più di noi vali.'
O tu che leggi, udirai nuovo ludo!
Ciascun dall' altra costa gli occhi volse;
Quei prima, ch' a ciò fare era più crudo. 120
Lo Navarrese ben suo tempo colse,
Fermò le piante a terra, ed in un punto
Saltò, e dal proposto lor si sciolse.
Di che ciascun di colpa fu compunto,
Ma quei più, che cagion fu del difetto; 125
Però si mosse, e gridò: 'Tu se' giunto.'
Ma poco i valse; chè l' ali al sospetto
Non potero avanzar: quegli andò sotto,

109. *Lacciuoli*, 'snares,' i. e., wiles. *Divizia*, 'abundance.'
111. He tries to put the demons off the scent: 'To be sure, I am over tricky, when I get my fellows into worse trouble.'
112. *Di rintoppo*, 'contrary.'
115. That is, 'I shall not run after thee, but fly.'
116. *Il colle* is the high edge of the inner bank of the 5th *bolgia*. The demons are to go a little way down the slope toward the 6th valley, so that the bank will hide them from the sinners in the pitch.
118. *Ludo*, 'sport.'
119. They turned their backs on the 5th *bolgia*, to go toward the slope of the 6th.
120. *Quei:* Cagnazzo. *Crudo*, 'averse.'
123. *Proposto*, 'purpose.'
124. *Di colpa compunto*, 'stung with blame,' i. e., ashamed.
125. *Quei:* Alichino. *Difetto*, 'loss.'
127. *I=gli*. 'Wings could not outfly fear.'
128. *Quegli:* the sinner.

E quei drizzò, volando suso, il petto.
Non altrimenti l' anitra di botto, 130
Quando il falcon s' appressa, giù s' attuffa,
Ed ei ritorna su crucciato e rotto.
Irato Calcabrina della buffa,
Volando dietro gli tenne, invaghito
Che quei campasse, per aver la zuffa. 135
E come il barattier fu disparito,
Così volse gli artigli al suo compagno,
E fu con lui sopra il fosso ghermito.
Ma l' altro fu bene sparvier grifagno
Ad artigliar ben lui, ed ambedue 140
Cadder nel mezzo del bollente stagno.
Lo caldo sghermitor subito fue;
Ma però di levarsi era niente,
Sì aveano inviscate l' ali sue.
Barbariccia, con gli altri suoi dolente, 145
Quattro ne fe' volar dall' altra costa
Con tutti i raffi, ed assai prestamente,
Di qua, di là, discesero alla posta;
Porser gli uncini verso gl' impaniati,
Ch' eran già cotti dentro dalla crosta. 150
E noi lasciammo lor così impacciati.

129. *Quei:* Alichino, who plunged after the fugitive, and barely threw back his head and chest in time to escape going under with him.
132. *Rotto*, 'ruffled.'
133. *Buffa*, 'flout.'
134. *Invaghito*, 'eager' that the sinner should escape, so that he might have a 'scuffle' with Alichino.
138. *Fu ghermito*, 'grappled.'
139. *Grifagno*, 'full grown': the term was applied to hawks caught toward the beginning of winter.
142. The heat was an 'ungrappler.'
143. 'But for all that there was no getting out.'
147. *Con tutti i raffi*, 'hooks and all.'
149. *Impaniati*, 'beglued.'
150. *La crosta*, 'their hides.'

CANTO XXIII

ARGUMENT

THE scene just witnessed reminds Dante of a 'favola d' Isopo,' the story of the frog and the rat. The tale is not in Æsop; but the name *Ysopus* was given in the Middle Ages to any fable collection, and the story in question occurs in several. A frog, having offered to tow a rat across a stream, ties itself to the animal, jumps in with it, and then treacherously tries to dive to the bottom, expecting to drown its companion. While the rat is struggling to keep afloat, a kite, seeing the disturbance, swoops down and carries off both creatures. The beginning and the end of the fable, Dante says, are exactly like the recent episode: that is, the fall of the two grappling fiends into the pitch is a reproduction of the plunge of the tethered quadrupeds into the water; and their rescue, as they are hooked out by their mates, is a counterpart of the seizure of the frog and the rat by the kite.

Our travellers have a narrow escape from the angry devils. Virgil, taking Dante in his arms, slides on his back down the precipitous bank into the sixth *bolgia*, where they are safe from pursuit. They find themselves in the valley of the hypocrites. 'Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!' says Mat. xxiii, 27, 'for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness.' Such is Dante's conception of hypocrisy. In slow and solemn file the souls march by — 'gente dipinta,' painted people, beautiful outward with bright gold. They are clad in cloaks of the cut affected by the monks of Cologne; and these garments, gilded on the outside, are made of crushing lead. Their cowls hang massive and heavy over their eyes, their heads are bowed down by the weight, they can scarcely drag themselves along. Their enforced decorum, measured pace, and sidelong glances are all in character; and so is the pious platitude which one of them sententiously volunteers when Virgil discovers how he has been tricked by the Malebranche. The exact form of their punishment was probably suggested to Dante by the *Magnæ Derivationes* of Uguccione da Pisa, who defines 'ypocrita' as 'superauratus,' taking it from *ὑπέρ* and *χρυσός*

On the floor of the ditch, pegged down at intervals in the pathway, where the heavy procession tramples on them as it passes, are

Caiaphas, Annas, and the other false councillors who favored the sacrifice of Christ. Thinking to destroy him, they really crucified their own souls, exposing themselves to the perpetual obloquy of mankind, and assuming the burden of blame for all subsequent hypocrisy. Over their *bolgia* the bridges are broken down, shattered by the great earthquake that accompanied the Saviour's descent. Here again, in l. 137, the word *ruina* is used. An impressive picture is that of Virgil 'marvelling' over Caiaphas, who was not there at the time of his previous journey through Hell. The crime of this arch-hypocrite passes the comprehnsion of Reason.

For the 'favola d' Isopo,' see K. McKenzie in *The Seventeenth Annual Report of the Dante Society of Cambridge, Massachusetts* (1898), pp. 6–13.

Taciti, soli e senza compagnia,
  N' andavam l' un dinanzi e l' altro dopo,
  Come frati minor vanno per via.
Volto era in sulla favola d' Isopo
  Lo mio pensier per la presente rissa, 5
  Dov' ei parlò della rana e del topo:
Chè più non si pareggia *mo* ed *issa*,
  Che l' un con l' altro fa, se ben s' accoppia
  Principio e fine con la mente fissa.
E come l' un pensier dell' altro scoppia, 10
  Così nacque di quello un altro poi,
  Che la prima paura mi fe' doppia.
Io pensava così: 'Questi per noi
  Sono scherniti, e con danno e con beffa
  Sì fatta, ch' assai credo che lor noi. 15
Se l' ira sopra il mal voler s' aggueffa,
  Ei ne verranno dietro più crudeli
  Che 'l cane a quella lepre ch' egli acceffa.'

3. *Frati minor:* Franciscans.
7. *Mo* and *issa* are synonyms, meaning 'now.'
15. *Noi* is the present subjunctive of *noiare:* 'vexes.'
16. *S' aggueffa*, 'is wound' into the hank, i. e., is added.
18. *Acceffa*, 'snaps up.'

Già mi sentia tutti arricciar li peli
  Della paura, e stava indietro intento, 20
  Quando io dissi: 'Maestro, se non celi
Te e me tostamente, i' ho pavento
  Di Malebranche. Noi gli avem già dietro.
  Io gl' immagino sì, che già li sento.'
E quei: 'S' io fossi d' impiombato vetro, 25
  L' imagine di fuor tua non trarrei
  Più tosto a me, che quella d' entro impetro.
Pur mo venian li tuoi pensier tra i miei
  Con simile atto e con simile faccia,
  Sì che d' intrambi un sol consiglio fei. 30
S' egli è che sì la destra costa giaccia
  Che noi possiam nell' altra bolgia scendere,
  Noi fuggirem l' imaginata caccia.'
Già non compiè di tal consiglio rendere,
  Ch' io gli vidi venir con l' ali tese, 35
  Non molto lungi, per volerne prendere.
Lo Duca mio di subito mi prese,
  Come la madre ch' al romore è desta
  E vede presso a sè le fiamme accese,
Che prende il figlio e fugge e non s' arresta — 40
  Avendo più di lui che di sè cura —
  Tanto che solo una camicia vesta.
E giù dal collo della ripa dura
  Supin si diede alla pendente roccia,

25. If I were a mirror ('leaded glass'), I should not catch thy bodily reflection more swiftly than I now receive the reflection of thy thought (thine inner image). Cf. Prov. xxvii, 19.

31. *S' egli è*, 'if it be.' The 'right bank' is the declivity leading to the 6th *bolgia*. — *Giaccia*, 'slopes.'

32, 34, 36 are *versi sdruccioli*: cf. XV, 1.

42. *Tanto*, 'long enough,' is to be connected with the *non s' arresta* of l. 40. Fires were not uncommon in Dante's time.

44. *Supin si diede*: he lay on his back and let himself go.

Che l' un dei lati all' altra bolgia tura. 45
Non corse mai sì tosto acqua per doccia
A volger rota di molin terragno,
Quand' ella più verso le pale approccia,
Come il Maestro mio per quel vivagno,
Portandosene me sopra il suo petto, 50
Come suo figlio, non come compagno.
Appena fur li piè suoi giunti al letto
Del fondo giù ch' ei furono in sul colle
Sopresso noi ; ma non gli era sospetto,
Chè l' alta provvidenza, che lor volle 55
Porre ministri della fossa quinta,
Poder di partirs' indi a tutti tolle.
Laggiù trovammo una gente dipinta,
Che giva intorno assai con lenti passi
Piangendo, e nel sembiante stanca e vinta. 60
Egli avean cappe con cappucci bassi
Dinanzi agli occhi, fatti della taglia
Che in Cologna per li monaci fassi.
Di fuor dorate son, sì ch' egli abbaglia ;
Ma dentro tutte piombo, e gravi tanto 65
Che Federico le mettea di paglia.

45. *Tura*, 'stops': the cliff encloses the valley on the outer side.
46. *Doccia*, 'sluice.'
47. *Molin terragno*, 'land mill,' is one situated on the bank of a mill-pond, as opposed to one built on a boat or raft in a river.
48. At the moment when the water pours down on the paddles of the mill-wheel.
49. *Vivagno*, 'border,' i. e., bank.
54. *Sopresso*, or *sovresso*, 'just above': *esso*, originally a pronoun or pronominal adjective, came to be attached to prepositions as an intensive particle. —*Non gli era sospetto*, 'there was no fear': *gli*=*vi*.
57. *Poder*=*potere*, 'power.' *Tolle*=*toglie*.
64. *Egli*, 'it.'
66. That those which Frederick II put upon criminals were, in comparison with these, as light as straw. The old commentators say that Frederick had offenders against the throne dressed in leaden cloaks, which were then melted upon them; this statement is not corroborated by any documentary evidence.

O in eterno faticoso manto!
  Noi ci volgemmo ancor pure a man manca
  Con loro insieme, intenti al tristo pianto;
Ma per lo peso quella gente stanca 70
  Venia sì pian, che noi eravam nuovi
  Di compagnia ad ogni muover d' anca.
Per ch' io al Duca mio: 'Fa' che tu trovi
  Alcun ch' al fatto o al nome si conosca,
  E gli occhi sì andando intorno muovi.' 75
Ed un che intese la parola Tosca
  Diretro a noi gridò: 'Tenete i piedi,
  Voi che correte sì per l' aura fosca.
Forse ch' avrai da me quel che tu chiedi.'
  Onde il Duca si volse e disse: 'Aspetta, 80
  E poi secondo il suo passo procedi.'
Ristetti, e vidi duo mostrar gran fretta
  Dell' animo, col viso, d' esser meco;
  Ma tardavagli il carco e la via stretta.
Quando fur giunti, assai con l' occhio bieco 85
  Mi rimiraron senza far parola;
  Poi si volsero in sè, e dicean seco:
'Costui par vivo all' atto della gola.
  E s' ei son morti, per qual privilegio
  Vanno scoperti della grave stola?' 90
Poi disser me: 'O Tosco, ch' al collegio
  Degl' ipocriti tristi se' venuto,

83. Their 'haste of spirit' could be manifested only by the expression of their faces.

84. Some of the *bolge* are evidently very much narrower than others: cf. XXX, 87.

85. *Bieco*, 'sidelong': their heavy, lowered hoods prevented them from looking directly.

91. *Collegio*, 'college,' i. e., company.

92. *Ipocriti tristi:* cf. Mat. vi, 16: 'be not, as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance' — 'sicut *hypocritæ tristes*.'

Dir chi tu sei non avere in dispregio.'
Ed io a loro: 'Io fui nato e cresciuto
Sopra il bel fiume d' Arno alla gran villa, 95
E son col corpo ch' i' ho sempre avuto.
Ma voi chi siete, a cui tanto distilla,
Quant' io veggio, dolor giù per le guance?
E che pena è in voi che sì sfavilla?'
E l' un rispose a me: 'Le cappe rance 100
Son di piombo sì grosse che li pesi
Fan così cigolar le lor bilance.
Frati Godenti fummo, e Bolognesi,
Io Catalano e questi Loderingo
Nomati, e da tua terra insieme presi, 105
Come suole esser tolto un uom solingo
Per conservar sua pace, e fummo tali
Ch' ancor si pare intorno dal Gardingo.'
Io cominciai: 'O frati, i vostri mali . . .'

93. *Non avere in dispregio*, 'scorn not.'
95. *Villa*, 'city': cf. I, 109.
97. The subject of *distilla*, 'distils,' is *tanto dolor*.
100. *Rance*, 'orange.'
102. The heavily burdened sinners, as they moan, are compared to scales so overweighted that they creak.
103. The brethren of the lay order of Beata Maria, defenders of the faith and of justice, were not required to lead an ascetic life, and were nicknamed 'Jolly Friars.'
104. Catalano de' Malavolti was a Guelf, Loderingo degli Andalò was a Ghibelline. Both were men of great authority, mayors of several cities. The second was one of the founders of the order of Beata Maria.
106. It was customary in Florence, as in many other cities, to choose as mayor for a term of one year some distinguished outsider, who was called *podestà* or *conservator pacis*. In 1266, however, instead of 'a single man,' two mayors, one from each party, were elected as a compromise. It was believed that they conspired to advance their own interests and to favor the Guelfs, who were returning to power after the battle of Benevento. It is now known that they were placed in office and controlled by Pope Clement IV. See *Bull.*, X, 356.
108. *Gardingo* was the name of an old Longobard fortress in Florence. Near it were the houses of the Uberti, which were destroyed in 1266, when the Ghibellines left the city, and their site was turned into a public square.
109. The movement of this line is exactly like that of V, 116, and VI, 58,

Ma più non dissi; ch' all' occhio mi corse 110
Un, crocifisso in terra con tre pali.
Quando mi vide, tutto si distorse,
Soffiando nella barba coi sospiri.
E il frate Catalan, ch' a ciò s' accorse,
Mi disse: 'Quel confitto che tu miri 115
Consigliò i Farisei che convenia
Porre un uom per lo popolo a' martiri.
Attraversato e nudo è nella via,
Come tu vedi, ed è mestier ch' ei senta
Qualunque passa com' ei pesa pria. 120
Ed a tal modo il suocero si stenta
In questa fossa, e gli altri del concilio
Che fu per li Giudei mala sementa.'
Allor vid' io maravigliar Virgilio
Sopra colui ch' era disteso in croce 125
Tanto vilmente nell' eterno esilio.
Poscia drizzò al frate cotal voce:
'Non vi dispiaccia, se vi lece, dirci
Se alla man destra giace alcuna foce
Onde noi ambedue possiamo uscirci 130
Senza costringer degli angeli neri
Che vegnan d' esto fondo a dipartirci.'

in which Dante voices his compassion for Francesca and Ciacco. We may infer that he was about to express pity, probably ironical, for the *Frati godenti*. See D' Ovidio, 86–7.

112. *Si distorse:* he writhed with shame at being seen by a living man.

114. Catalano, who could not see so far ahead, 'took notice from that,' i. e., from the puffing.

117. John xi, 49, 50: 'And one of them, named Caiaphas, being the high priest that same year, said unto them, Ye know nothing at all, nor consider that it is expedient for us, that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not.' So xviii, 14.

121. *Il suocero,* Annas: John xviii, 13, 24. *Si stenta,* 'is racked.'

122. *Il concilio:* John xi, 47–53.

123. 'Seed of ill for the Jews,' as Jesus had prophesied: Luke xxiii, 27–31.

Rispose adunque : 'Più che tu non speri
S' appressa un sasso che dalla gran cerchia
Si muove, e varca tutti i vallon feri, 135
Salvo ch' a questo è rotto, e nol coperchia.
Montar potrete su per la ruina
Che giace in costa e nel fondo soperchia.'
Lo Duca stette un poco a testa china;
Poi disse : 'Mal contava la bisogna 140
Colui che i peccator di là uncina.'
E il frate : 'Io udi' già dire a Bologna
Del Diavol vizii assai, tra i quali udi'
Ch' egli è bugiardo e padre di menzogna.'
Appresso il Duca a gran passi sen gì, 145
Turbato un poco d' ira nel sembiante ;
Ond' io dagl' incarcati mi parti'
Dietro alle poste delle care piante.

134. *Un sasso :* a ridge, similar to the one they have followed as far as this *bolgia*. *La gran cerchia*, 'the great belt': the circular precipice that encloses all Malebolge.
138. *Soperchia*, 'heaps up.'
140. *Bisogna*, 'business.' *Colui* is Malacoda.
143, 145, 147 are *versi tronchi :* see IV, 56.
144. John viii, 44.
148. *Poste*, 'prints.' *Piante*, 'feet.'

CANTO XXIV

ARGUMENT

For a moment, thanks to the dainty simile of the frost with which this canto opens, we are lifted out beneath the open sky into the bracing air of winter. Then the horrors redouble. In this seventh *bolgia* we are shown the most weird and blood-curdling sights that Hell affords. The thief, when he plies his trade, abdicates his human nature and transforms himself into a sly, creeping snake. The serpent, then, is the symbol of thievery; and so this sin is depicted, through two cantos, with an astounding variety of gruesome detail.

For the shortening nights, see Moore, III, 53 and 150. For the prophecy at the end of the canto, see F. Torraca in *Rassegna critica della letteratura italiana*, VIII, 1; and, for a different interpretation, A. Bassermann in *Giorn. dant.*, XII, 97.

In quella parte del giovinetto anno
  Che il sole i crin sotto l' Aquario tempra
  E già le notti al mezzodì sen vanno,
Quando la brina in sulla terra assempra
  L' imagine di sua sorella bianca, — 5
  Ma poco dura alla sua penna tempra, —
Lo villanello, a cui la roba manca,
  Si leva e guarda, e vede la campagna
  Biancheggiar tutta, ond' ei si batte l' anca,

2. The sun is in Aquarius (cooling his locks in the spray) approximately from January 21 to February 21.
3. From December 21 (the winter solstice) to June 21 (the summer solstice) the nights grow shorter in the northern hemisphere, longer in the southern. In January and February, then, the nights are beginning to 'pass to the south.' As the sun moves northward, the night moves southward.
4. *Assempra*, 'copies': cf. *V. N.*, I, 6. The 'white sister' of the hoar frost is the snow.
6. 'The temper of her pen lasts but a little while,' i. e., she cannot long continue her copying: in other words, the frost soon melts.
7. *Villanello*, 'rustic.' *Roba*, 'provision.'
9. *Si batte l' anca*, 'smites his thigh,' thinking the ground is covered with snow. Smiting the thigh was a common expression of grief in ancient times (*percutere femur*) and in the Middle Ages.

Ritorna in casa, e qua e là si lagna, 10
Come il tapin che non sa che si faccia;
Poi riede, e la speranza ringavagna,
Veggendo il mondo aver cangiata faccia
In poco d' ora, e prende suo vincastro
E fuor le pecorelle a pascer caccia: 15
Così mi fece sbigottir lo Mastro,
Quand' io gli vidi sì turbar la fronte,
E così tosto al mal giunse lo impiastro.
Chè come noi venimmo al guasto ponte,
Lo Duca a me si volse con quel piglio 20
Dolce ch' io vidi prima a piè del monte.
Le braccia aperse, dopo alcun consiglio
Eletto seco, riguardando prima
Ben la ruina, e diedemi di piglio.
E come quei che adopera ed estima, 25
Che sempre par che innanzi si proveggia,
Così, levando me su ver la cima
D' un ronchion, avvisava un' altra scheggia,
Dicendo: 'Sopra quella poi t' aggrappa;
Ma tenta pria s' è tal ch' ella ti reggia.' 30
Non era via da vestito di cappa,
Chè noi a pena, ei lieve, ed io sospinto,
Potevam su montar di chiappa in chiappa.
E se non fosse che da quel precinto

11. *Tapin*, 'wretch.'
12. *Ringavagna*, 'puts into his basket again,' i. e., picks up.
14. *Vincastro*, 'crook.'
16. *Mastro = maestro.*
20. *Piglio*, 'look': cf. XXII, 75. The *monte* is that of the first canto.
28. *Ronchion*, 'rock.' *Scheggia*, 'fragment.' These are pieces of the broken bridge.
30. *Reggia = regga.*
33. *Chiappa*, 'jut.'
34. *Precinto*, 'quarter.' They are climbing up the inner bank, which is lower than the outer.

Più che dall' altro era la costa corta, 35
Non so di lui, ma io sarei ben vinto.
Ma perchè Malebolge in ver la porta
Del bassissimo pozzo tutta pende,
Lo sito di ciascuna valle porta
Che l' una costa surge e l' altra scende. 40
Noi pur venimmo alfine in sulla punta
Onde l' ultima pietra si scoscende.
La lena m' era del polmon sì munta,
Quando fui su, ch' io non potea più oltre,
Anzi mi assisi nella prima giunta. 45
'Omai convien che tu così ti spoltre,'
Disse il Maestro, 'chè sedendo in piuma
In fama non si vien, nè sotto coltre,
Senza la qual chi sua vita consuma,
Cotal vestigio in terra di sè lascia, 50
Qual fummo in aer ed in acqua la schiuma.
E però leva su, vinci l' ambascia
Con l' animo che vince ogni battaglia,
Se col suo grave corpo non s' accascia.
Più lunga scala convien che si saglia; 55
Non basta da costoro esser partito.
Se tu m' intendi, or fa' sì che ti vaglia.'

38. *Pende*, 'slants.'
39. *Porta*, 'requires.'
40. 'That one bank (the outer) be high, the other (the inner) be low.'
42. *Si scoscende*, 'is split off': where the top of the heap of fragments joins the solid rock of the ridge.
43. *Munta*, 'milked,' i. e., pumped: cf. XII, 136.
46. *Ti spoltre*, 'cast off sloth.'
49. *La qual*, sc., *fama*.
51. Cf. Wisdom v, 14.
52. *Ambascia*, 'panting."
54. *S' accascia*, 'is crushed.' Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 731: 'quantum non noxia corpora tardant.'
55. The climb from the centre of the earth to the top of Purgatory. It is not enough to quit sin: we must attain virtue.

Leva' mi allor, mostrandomi fornito
  Meglio di lena ch' io non mi sentia ;
  E dissi : 'Va', ch' io son forte ed ardito.' 60
Su per lo scoglio prendemmo la via,
  Ch' era ronchioso, stretto e malagevole,
  Ed erto più assai che quel di pria.
Parlando andava per non parer fievole,
  Onde una voce uscìo dall' altro fosso, 65
  A parole formar disconvenevole.
Non so che disse, ancor che sopra il dosso
  Fossi dell' arco già che varca quivi ;
  Ma chi parlava ad ira parea mosso.
Io era volto in giù, ma gli occhi vivi 70
  Non potean ire al fondo per l' oscuro ;
  Per ch' io : 'Maestro, fa' che tu arrivi
Dall' altro cinghio, e dismontiam lo muro ;
  Chè com' i' odo quinci e non intendo,
  Così giù veggio, e niente affiguro.' 75
'Altra risposta,' disse, 'non ti rendo,
  Se non lo far ; chè la domanda onesta
  Si dee seguir coll' opera tacendo.'
Noi discendemmo il ponte dalla testa
  Dove s' aggiunge coll' ottava ripa, 80
  E poi mi fu la bolgia manifesta ;

62. *Ronchioso*, 'craggy.' Ll. 62, 64, 66 are *versi sdruccioli;* see XV, 1.
63. This ridge is much higher than the one they followed as far as the 5th *bolgia*.
64. *Fievole*, 'feeble.'
65. One would expect *quando* rather than *onde*.
66. *Disconvenevole*, 'unsuited.'
67. *Ancor che*, 'although.'
73. *Cinghio*, 'belt': the inner bank of the *bolgia* just crossed. *Muro*: the descent from the ridge to the top of the bank. This inner bank being low, they will be comparatively near the bottom of the ditch.
75. *Affiguro*=*raffiguro*.
79. *Dalla testa*, 'at the end.'

E vidivi entro terribile stipa
  Di serpenti, e di sì diversa mena
  Che la memoria il sangue ancor mi scipa.
Più non si vanti Libia con sua rena; 85
  Chè, se chelidri, iaculi e faree
  Produce, e cencri con amfisibena,
Nè tante pestilenzie nè sì ree
  Mostrò giammai con tutta l' Etiopia,
  Nè con ciò che di sopra il mar rosso èe. 90
Tra questa cruda e tristissima copia
  Correvan genti nude e spaventate,
  Senza sperar pertugio o elitropia.
Con serpi le man dietro avean legate;
  Quelle ficcavan per le ren la coda 95
  E il capo, ed eran dinanzi aggroppate.
Ed ecco ad un ch' era da nostra proda
  S' avventò un serpente, che il trafisse
  Là dove il collo alle spalle s' annoda.
Nè O sì tosto mai nè I si scrisse 100

82. *Stipa*, 'pack': cf. XI, 3.
83. *Diversa mena*, 'strange kind': cf. XXII, 10.
84. *Scipa*, 'curdles.'
85. The Libyan sands were familiar to Dante through Lucan and Ovid: *Phars.*, I, 367; II, 417; IX, 705; *Met.*, IV, 617. The following snakes, and others, are mentioned by Lucan in his account of Cato's march through the desert: *Phars.*, IX, 700 ff. The *jaculi* and *cenchres* are described by Pliny and Solinus. The *chelŷdri* make their path smoke, the *jacŭli* are swift as darts, the *phareæ* furrow the ground with their tails, the *cenchres* never follow a straight course, the *amphisbæna* has two heads.
90. *Ee*=*è*. Not all Libya, Ethiopia, and Arabia can show so many serpents as the 7th *bolgia*.
93. The heliotrope is a precious stone that makes its bearer invisible. Cf. Boccaccio, *Decameron*, VII, 3.
96. The snakes that bound the hands behind had their heads and tails thrust right through the bodies (from back to front) and tied in front.
97. *Da nostra proda*, 'by our bank': just below the bank on which we stood.
100. *O* and undotted *i* are written with a single stroke. Lucan, *Phars.*, IX, 761 ff., tells of a soldier who, bitten by a snake, melts entirely away. Cf. XXV, 95.

Com' ei s' accese ed arse, e cener tutto
Convenne che cascando divenisse;
E poi che fu a terra sì distrutto,
La polver si raccolse per sè stessa,
E in quel medesmo ritornò di butto. 105
Così per li gran savi si confessa
Che la Fenice more e poi rinasce,
Quando al cinquecentesimo anno appressa.
Erba nè biado in sua vita non pasce,
Ma sol d' incenso lagrime ed amomo; 110
E nardo e mirra son l' ultime fasce.
E qual è quei che cade, e non sa como,
Per forza di demon ch' a terra il tira,
O d' altra oppilazion che lega l' uomo,
Quando si leva, che intorno si mira 115
Tutto smarrito dalla grande angoscia
Ch' egli ha sofferta, e guardando sospira,
Tal era il peccator levato poscia.
O potenza di Dio, quant' è severa,
Che cotai colpi per vendetta croscia! 120
Lo Duca il domandò poi chi egli era:
Per ch' ei rispose: 'Io piovvi di Toscana,
Poco tempo è, in questa gola fera.
Vita bestial mi piacque, e non umana,

105. *Di butto = di botto*, 'instantly.'
106. *Savi*, 'poets': particularly Ovid, *Met.*, IX, 392 ff. The phœnix was described also by Pliny and Brunetto Latini.
109. *Biado*, 'grain.'
110. *Amomo*, 'balsam.'
111. 'And nard and myrrh are its winding-sheet.'
112. *Como = come.*
113. Epileptics were thought to be possessed by devils. See Mark ix, 17–26.
114. *Oppilazion*, 'stoppage' of the passages between heart and brain.
120. *Croscia*, 'pours forth.'

Sì come a mul ch' io fui. Son Vanni Fucci, 125
Bestia, e Pistoia mi fu degna tana.'
Ed io al Duca: 'Digli che non mucci,
E domanda qual colpa quaggiù il pinse;
Ch' io il vidi uomo di sangue e di crucci.'
E il peccator, che intese, non s' infinse, 130
Ma drizzò verso me l' animo e il volto,
E di trista vergogna si dipinse;
Poi disse: 'Più mi duol che tu m' hai colto
Nella miseria dove tu mi vedi,
Che quando fui dell' altra vita tolto. 135
Io non posso negar quel che tu chiedi.
In giù son messo tanto, perch' io fui
Ladro, alla sacrestia, de' belli arredi;
E falsamente già fu apposto altrui.
Ma perchè di tal vista tu non godi, 140
Se mai sarai di fuor de' lochi bui,
Apri gli orecchi al mio annunzio, ed odi:

125. *Mul:* Vanni Fucci was a bastard, a natural son of one of the Lazzari family of Pistoia. He was a notorious ruffian, robber, and cutthroat.
127. *Mucci*, 'give us the slip.'
129. *Crucci*, 'wrath.' Dante — who, it appears from this line, had known Vanni — is surprised to find him here rather than in the first ring of the 7th circle, among the violent.
130. *Non s' infinse*, 'did not fail': cf. Old-French *feindre*.
138. In January, 1293, or a little earlier, some silver statues were stolen from the altar of a chapel in the cathedral of Pistoia.
139. The crime was attributed to several, especially to a certain Rampino Ranucci, who came near being hanged for it. Probably the truth had come out not long before April, 1300.
142. The following prophecy, couched in oracular style, is purposely obscure, and no perfectly satisfactory interpretation has been found. That of Tor., the most consistent, is as follows: Pistoia was thinned of Blacks (adherents of the Black party) after May, 1301; Florence renewed her people (banishing the Whites and restoring the Blacks) and changed her government, after the entry of Charles of Valois, November 4, 1301; in 1302, Moroello Malaspina, chosen captain of an expedition of Lucchese and Florentines against Pistoia, while besieging the neighboring stronghold of Serravalle, was suddenly attacked by the Pistoiese, but, tearing down the palisades of his camp, issued forth and dispersed the enemy. The latter part of the prognostication is cast in meteorological form.

Pistoia in pria di Negri si dimagra,
Poi Fiorenza rinnuova genti e modi.
Tragge Marte vapor di val di Magra 145
Ch' è di torbidi nuvoli involuto,
E con tempesta impetuosa ed agra
Sopra Campo Picen fia combattuto;
Ond' ei repente spezzerà la nebbia,
Sì ch' ogni Bianco ne sarà feruto. 150
E detto l' ho, perchè doler ten debbia.'

145. The 'vapor' that Mars draws forth is Moroello Malaspina, lord of Lunigiana in the valley of the Magra. Dante was his guest in 1306, and was believed to have dedicated the *Purgatorio* to him.

148. It seems that the name *Campo Piceno* was applied to the territory of Pistoia.

150. *Feruto* = *ferito*. Serravalle surrendered soon after. This insignificant incident was probably of great importance to the White party, and therefore looked big to Dante.

151. *Ten debbia* = *te ne debba*.

CANTO XXV

ARGUMENT

In a lair on Mt. Aventine dwelt the bloody monster Cacus, son of Vulcan, whose story Virgil tells in the *Æneid*, VIII, 193–267. When Hercules returned from the west with Geryon's herd, Cacus stole a part of it, dragging the cattle by their tails, that their footprints might point away from his den Warned by their bellowing, Hercules followed them; and although the fire-belching Cacus filled the cave with flame and smoke, the hero boldly entered and strangled him — according to Dante's version, slew him with his club. Virgil nowhere calls Cacus a centaur, but he does use the phrase (VIII, 194): 'Semihominis Caci facies.' A centaur Dante makes him, and puts upon his neck a mane of serpents, and on his back a fiery dragon. Inasmuch as he was guilty of theft, he is separated from the centaurs of the Circle of Violence and incarcerated in the seventh *bolgia* of the Circle of Fraud. Presumably he is, like his fellows, a sort of guardian as well as a culprit

Five other thieves claim our attention — Agnello, Buoso, Puccio, Cianfa, Guercio, all Florentines of whom we know little or nothing. The first three are introduced in the aspect of human beings. Cianfa darts in as a snake, twists himself about Agnello, and combines with him into an indescribable monster — 'e tal sen gìa con lento passo.' Guercio then appears in serpent form, bites Buoso, and gradually exchanges shapes with him, the one becoming a man, the other a snake. Puccio remains intact. Some strange effects of snake-bites Dante learned from Lucan's *Pharsalia*, IX, 761 ff. Certain details of his transformations he evidently drew from Ovid's *Metamorphoses:* in IV, 576 ff., Cadmus is turned into a serpent; in V, 451 ff., a boy who laughs at Ceres becomes a lizard; in IV, 356 ff., a youth and a naiad are fused into an Hermaphrodite. But the sustained realism, the atmosphere of mystery and horror, the uncanny yawn, stare, and smoke are Dante's own.

Al fine delle sue parole il ladro
Le mani alzò con ambedue le fiche,
Gridando : 'Togli, Iddio, chè a te le squadro.'

2. *Le fiche*, 'the figs' : *la fica* is a coarse, insulting gesture made by holding out the fist with the thumb between the fore and the middle finger.

3. *Togli*, 'take that.' *Squadro*, 'square,' i. e., direct.

Da indi in qua mi fur le serpi amiche,
Perch' una gli s' avvolse allora al collo, 5
Come dicesse : 'Io non vo' che più diche';
Ed un' altra alle braccia, e rilegollo,
Ribadendo sè stessa sì dinanzi
Che non potea con esse dare un crollo.
Ahi Pistoia, Pistoia, chè non stanzi 10
D' incenerarti, sì che più non duri,
Poi che in mal far lo seme tuo avanzi.
Per tutti i cerchi dell' inferno oscuri
Non vidi spirto in Dio tanto superbo,
Non quel che cadde a Tebe giù da' muri. 15
Ei si fuggì, che non parlò più verbo.
Ed io vidi un Centauro pien di rabbia
Venir chiamando : 'Ov' è, ov' è l' acerbo?'
Maremma non cred' io che tante n' abbia
Quante bisce egli avea su per la groppa, 20
Infin dove comincia nostra labbia.
Sopra le spalle, dietro dalla coppa,
Con l' ali aperte gli giacea un draco,
E quello affoca qualunque s' intoppa.
Lo mio Maestro disse : 'Quegli è Caco, 25
Che sotto il sasso di monte Aventino

6. *Diche*=*dica*.
8. *Ribadendo*, 'clinching.'
9. *Esse*: the arms.
10. *Stanzi*, 'decree.'
12. *Avanzi*, 'thou surpassest.' Pistoia, according to tradition, was founded by the remnants of Catiline's army.
15. Capaneus: XIV, 63.
18. *L' acerbo*, 'the callous one': Vanni Fucci.
19. *Maremma*: a wild and swampy part of Tuscany: cf. XIII, 8–9, XXIX, 46–9.
21. *Labbia*, 'countenance': the human part of the centaur.
22. *Coppa*, 'nape.'
23. *Draco*=*drago* or *dragone*. The dragon of folklore breathes fire.
24. *S' intoppa*, 'it meets.'

Di sangue fece spesse volte laco.
Non va co' suoi fratei per un cammino,
Per lo furar che frodolente fece
Del grande armento ch' egli ebbe a vicino; 30
Onde cessar le sue opere biece
Sotto la mazza d' Ercole, che forse
Gliene diè cento, e non sentì le diece.'
Mentre che sì parlava, ed ei trascorse
E tre spiriti venner sotto noi, 35
De' quai nè io nè il Duca mio s' accorse,
Se non quando gridar: 'Chi siete voi?'
Per che nostra novella si ristette,
Ed intendemmo pure ad essi poi.
Io non gli conoscea; ma ei seguette, 40
Come suol seguitar per alcun caso,
Che l' un nomare un altro convenette,
Dicendo: 'Cianfa dove fia rimaso?'
Perch' io, acciocchè il Duca stesse attento,
Mi posi il dito su dal mento al naso. 45
Se tu sei or, Lettore, a creder lento
Ciò ch' io dirò, non sarà maraviglia,
Chè io che il vidi appena il mi consento.
Com' io tenea levate in lor le ciglia,

28. *Fratei=fratelli. Per un cammino*, 'the same path.' The other centaurs are in the first ring of the 7th circle.
31. *Biece=bieche*, 'crooked.'
33. *Cento*, sc., blows: Hercules kept on striking him long after he was dead.
34. *Ed* is here redundant and untranslatable: cf. XIX, 3.
35. Virgil and Dante are looking down from the bank. The three spirits turn out to be Agnolo Brunelleschi, Buoso de' Donati (or degli Abati), and Puccio Sciancato. Two more come presently in the form of snakes.
38. *Novella*, 'discourse.'
40. *Ei seguette*, 'it happened.'
43. Cianfa Donati was a Florentine of some distinction; we know nothing of his thefts. He appears, in l. 50, as a serpent.
48. *Consento*, 'admit.'

Ed un serpente con sei piè si lancia 50
Dinanzi all' uno, e tutto a lui s' appiglia.
Coi piè di mezzo gli avvinse la pancia,
E con gli anterior le braccia prese ;
Poi gli addentò e l' una e l' altra guancia.
Gli diretani alle cosce distese, 55
E miseli la coda tra ambedue
E dietro per le ren su la ritese.
Ellera abbarbicata mai non fue
Ad arbor sì, come l' orribil fiera
Per l' altrui membra avviticchiò le sue. 60
Poi s' appiccar, come di calda cera
Fossero stati, e mischiar lor colore ;
Nè l' un nè l' altro già parea quel ch' era :
Come procede innanzi dall' ardore
Per lo papiro suso un color bruno, 65
Che non è nero ancora, e il bianco more.
Gli altri due riguardavano, e ciascuno
Gridava : 'O me, Agnèl, come ti muti !
Vedi che già non sei nè due nè uno.'
Già eran li due capi un divenuti, 70
Quando n' apparver due figure miste
In una faccia, ov' eran due perduti.

50. *Ed:* once more the redundant use.
51. *Uno:* named, in l. 68, Agnello. The old commentators call him Agnolo Brunelleschi; we know nothing more of him.
54. The snake spreads its open mouth over Agnello's face.
55. *Gli diretani*, 'its hind feet.'
60. *Avviticchiò*, 'twisted.' Cf. *Met.*, IV, 365: 'Utve solent hederæ longos intexere truncos.'
61. *S' appiccar*, 'grew together.'
64. The figure is that of a piece of cotton paper burning on the lower edge; a streak of brown precedes the advancing flame.
72. Cf. *Met.*, IV, 373–5 (Hermaphroditus and Salmacis):

'Nam mixta duorum
Corpora junguntur, faciesque inducitur illis
Una.'

Fersi le braccia due di quattro liste ;
  Le cosce con le gambe, il ventre e il casso
  Divenner membra che non fur mai viste. 75
Ogni primaio aspetto ivi era casso :
  Due e nessun l' imagine perversa
  Parea, e tal sen gìa con lento passo.
Come il ramarro, sotto la gran fersa
  De' dì canicular cangiando siepe, 80
  Folgore par, se la via attraversa :
Così parea, venendo verso l' epe
  Degli altri due, un serpentello acceso,
  Livido e nero come gran di pepe.
E quella parte, donde prima è preso 85
  Nostro alimento, all' un di lor trafisse ;
  Poi cadde giuso innanzi lui disteso.
Lo trafitto il mirò, ma nulla disse ;
  Anzi coi piè fermati sbadigliava,
  Pur come sonno o febbre l' assalisse. 90
Egli il serpente, e quei lui riguardava ;
  L' un per la piaga, e l' altro per la bocca
  Fumavan forte, e il fummo si scontrava.
Taccia Lucano omai, là dove tocca
  Del misero Sabello e di Nassidio, 95
  Ed attenda ad udir quel ch' or si scocca !
Taccia di Cadmo e d' Aretusa Ovidio !

73. *Fersi*=*si fecero*. *Liste*, 'strips.'
76. *Casso*, 'obliterated.'
79. *Ramarro*, 'lizard.' *Fersa*, 'scourge,' i. e., the hot summer sun.
82. *Epe*, 'bellies.'
85. The navel.
95. *Phars.*, IX, 763 ff. and 790 ff. Sabellus, bitten by a little snake in the desert, melts away like snow. Nasidius, poisoned by another serpent, swells into a shapeless globe and bursts his armor.
96. *Si scocca*, 'is shot forth,' i. e., related.
97. *Met.*, IV, 576 ff.; V, 572 ff.

Chè se quello in serpente, e quella in fonte
Converte poetando, io non l' invidio;
Chè due nature mai a fronte a fronte 100
Non trasmutò, sì ch' ambedue le forme
A cambiar lor materia fosser pronte.
Insieme si risposero a tai norme,
Che il serpente la coda in forca fesse,
E il feruto ristrinse insieme l' orme. 105
Le gambe con le cosce seco stesse
S' appiccar sì, che in poco la giuntura
Non facea segno alcun che si paresse.
Togliea la coda fessa la figura
Che si perdeva là, e la sua pelle 110
Si facea molle, e quella di là dura.
Io vidi entrar le braccia per l' ascelle,
E i due piè della fiera, ch' eran corti,
Tanto allungar quanto accorciavan quelle.
Poscia li piè diretro, insieme attorti, 115
Diventaron lo membro che l' uom cela,
E il misero del suo n' avea due porti.
Mentre che il fummo l' uno e l' altro vela
Di color nuovo, e genera il pel suso
Per l' una parte, e dall' altra il dipela, 120
L' un si levò, e l' altro cadde giuso,
Non torcendo però le lucerne empie,
Sotto le quai ciasun cambiava muso.

101. *Forme* is used in the scholastic sense of 'natures': two individuals, in Dante's narrative, exchange their substance.
103. *A tai norme*, 'in the following order.'
105. *Feruto* = *ferito*. — *Orme*, 'feet.'
107. *S' appiccar:* cf. l. 61. The legs grow together into a tail.
117. *Porti*, 'extended,' to make two hind feet.
122. *Lucerne*, 'lights,' i. e., glaring eyes.

Quel ch' era dritto, il trasse ver le tempie,
E di troppa materia che in là venne 125
Uscir gli orecchi delle gote scempie;
Ciò che non corse indietro, e si ritenne
Di quel soperchio, fe' naso alla faccia,
E le labbra ingrossò quanto convenne.
Quel che giacea il muso innanzi caccia, 130
E gli orecchi ritira per la testa,
Come face le corna la lumaccia:
E la lingua, che avea unita e presta
Prima a parlar, si fende, e la forcuta
Nell' altro si richiude, e il fummo resta. 135
L' anima ch' era fiera divenuta
Si fuggì sufolando per la valle,
E l' altro dietro a lui parlando sputa.
Poscia gli volse le novelle spalle,
E disse all' altro: 'Io vo' che Buoso corra, 140
Com' ho fatt' io, carpon, per questo calle.'
Così vid' io la settima zavorra

124. *Quel:* the one that has been changed from a snake to a man.—*Il*, sc., *muso*, his snout.
126. *Scempie*, 'smooth.'
127. *Ciò:* that part of the snout.
132. *Lumaccia*=*lumaca*, 'snail.'
133. Cf. *Met.*, IV, 586–9 (Cadmus changed into a serpent):

> 'Ille quidem vult plura loqui, sed lingua repente
> In partes est fissa duas, nec verba volenti
> Sufficiunt, quotiensque aliquos parat edere questus,
> Sibilat; hanc illi vocem natura reliquit.'

135. 'The smoke stops,' bringing the transformation to an abrupt close. With similar abruptness the preceding metamorphosis ended, in l. 78.
137. *Sufolando*, 'hissing.'
138. Human saliva was thought to be poisonous to snakes.
140. The man turns his 'new back' upon the serpent, and addresses *l' altro*, the third of the original three and the only one that has not been transformed. *Buoso* is the new snake: according to some of the old commentators he is Buoso de' Donati (cf. XXX, 44); according to others, Buoso degli Abati.
142. *Zavorra*, 'ballast.' The transmutation of shapes in this 7th hollow reminds the poet of the shifting of ballast to and fro in the hold of a ship.

Mutare e trasmutare; e qui mi scusi
La novità, se fior la penna abborra.
Ed avvegnachè gli occhi miei confusi 145
Fossero alquanto, e l' animo smagato, dismayed
Non poter quei fuggirsi tanto chiusi
Ch' io non scorgessi ben Puccio Sciancato;
Ed era quei che sol, de' tre compagni
Che venner prima, non era mutato. 150
L' altro era quel che tu, Gaville, piagni.

144. *Fior*, 'at all.' *Abborra*, 'wanders': cf. XXXI, 24.
146. *Smagato*, 'exhausted.'
147. *Chiusi*, 'covertly.'
148. As the two run away, Dante recognizes the unchanged one as Puccio Sciancato de' Galigai, a Ghibelline, banished from Florence in 1268.
151. 'The other,' originally the second snake, was Guercio de' Cavalcanti, killed for his misdeeds by the people of Gaville, a village on the upper Arno. Gaville mourns because of the vengeance taken for his death.

CANTO XXVI

ARGUMENT

ONCE more a respite is afforded from the oppressiveness of Malebolge. Ulysses tells of his last journey, and his sea-story breaks in upon the grim nightmare like a whiff of fresh breeze. This 'mad flight' of the Ithacan out into the great waters seems to be essentially an invention of our poet. Although Solinus records an old tradition that Ulysses sailed into the Atlantic and founded Lisbon, and Claudian mentions a voyage to a land of shades in that part of Gaul which projects furthest into the ocean, their tales have almost nothing in common with his Dante's imagination must have been stirred by the adventures of St. Brendan in his search for the Isles of the Blest, and by other yarns of wondrous voyages and expeditions to the Earthly Paradise; but he imitates none of them in this narrative. Homer he had not read.

Ulysses is found in the eighth *bolgia*, among evil counsellors, those who applied their burning eloquence to the concealment of their real mind. They are completely enveloped in tongues of fire, which 'steal' them from sight, just as in life their flaming speech cunningly hid their thought. Fire, the symbol of divine anger, is an appropriate punishment, because their sin consists in the misuse of superior mental power, the direct gift of God, who breathes into men at birth the intellective soul endowed with greater or less keenness of intelligence according to his grace. Dante, one of the most favored in this respect, manifests particular interest in the fate of his intellectual compeers, and warns himself against falling into the error that wrought their destruction.

Godi, Fiorenza, poi che sei sì grande
　　Che per mare e per terra batti l' ali,
　　E per l' inferno il tuo nome si spande.
Tra li ladron trovai cinque cotali
　　Tuoi cittadini, onde mi vien vergogna, 5
　　E tu in grande onranza non ne sali.
Ma se presso al mattin del ver si sogna,

7. It was an ancient and popular belief that dreams occurring just before dawn would come true: cf. *Purg*. IX, 16–18. The poet seems to regard the

Tu sentirai di qua da picciol tempo
Di quel che Prato, non ch' altri, t' agogna.
E se già fosse, non saria per tempo. 10
Così foss' ei, da che pure esser dee;
Chè più mi graverà, com' più m' attempo.
Noi ci partimmo, e su per le scalee
Che n' avean fatte i borni a scender pria
Rimontò il mio Maestro, e trasse mee. 15
E proseguendo la solinga via
Tra le schegge e tra' rocchi dello scoglio,
Lo piè senza la man non si spedia.
Allor mi dolsi, ed ora mi ridoglio,
Quand' io drizzo la mente a ciò ch' io vidi; 20
E più lo ingegno affreno ch' io non soglio,
Perchè non corra che virtù nol guidi;
Sì che se stella buona o miglior cosa
M' ha dato il ben, ch' io stesso nol m' invidi.
Quante il villan, ch' al poggio si riposa, 25

present time of depravity as a dark night, to be followed ere long (as he repeatedly attests) by a better day. His prophecy is conceived just as the new morrow is about to dawn.

8. *Di qua da picciol tempo*, 'within a short time.'

9. *Prato* is a little town near Florence: thou shalt feel the grief which even thy nearest neighbors wish thee, not to mention thine enemies.

10. *Per tempo*, 'too early.'

11. *Così foss' ei*, 'would it were so,' i. e., would that the blow had already fallen!

12. The poet's mood changes from vindictiveness to tenderness.

13. The 'stairs' lead from the bank to the top of the ridge; they consist of 'bourns,' or rocky projections. Having climbed the ridge, the travellers pursue their way over the 8th arch.

15. *Mee*=*me*.

17. *Rocchi*, 'crags': cf. XX, 25.

18. *Si spedia*, 'proceeded.'

22. 'That it (my genius) may not run without the guidance of virtue.'

23. The 'something better' is divine grace.

24. The *che* in this line is superfluous. —*Invidi*, 'begrudge,' i. e., deprive myself of it by misuse, as these souls have done.

25. *Quante* modifies *lucciole* in l. 29. In this pretty simile of the fireflies, the season indicated (ll. 26–7) is the summer solstice, the hour (l. 28) is dusk.

Nel tempo che colui che il mondo schiara
La faccia sua a noi tien meno ascosa,
Come la mosca cede alla zanzara,
Vede lucciole giù per la vallea,
Forse colà dove vendemmia ed ara : 30
Di tante fiamme tutta risplendea
L' ottava bolgia, sì com' io m' accorsi
Tosto ch' io fui là 've il fondo parea.
E qual colui che si vengiò con gli orsi
Vide il carro d' Elia al dipartire, 35
Quando i cavalli al cielo erti levorsi ;
Chè nol potea sì con gli occhi seguire
Ch' ei vedesse altro che la fiamma sola,
Sì come nuvoletta, in su salire :
Tal si movea ciascuna per la gola 40
Del fosso, chè nessuna mostra il furto,
Ed ogni fiamma un peccatore invola.
Io stava sopra il ponte a veder surto
Sì che, s' io non avessi un ronchion preso,
Caduto sarei giù senza esser urto. 45
E il Duca, che mi vide tanto atteso,
Disse : 'Dentro da' fochi son gli spirti :
Ciascun si fascia di quel ch' egli è inceso.'

26. *Colui:* the sun, whose 'face' is 'least hidden' at the time when the nights are shortest.
33. *'Ve*=*ove:* as soon as I was high enough on the bridge to see the bottom of the ditch.
34. *Colui:* Elisha (II Kings ii, 23–4). *Qual* modifies *carro* in l. 35.
35. *Elia*, 'Elijah': II Kings ii, 9–12.
36. *Levorsi*=*si levarono.*
39. *Nuvoletta:* cf. *V. N.*, XXIII, 52, 187.
40. *Ciascuna*, sc., *fiamma:* cf. l. 31.
42. *Invola*, 'steals': Dante conceives of these flames as stealing, i. e., secreting, the sinners contained within them.
43. *Surto*, 'erect.'
44. *Ronchion:* cf. XXIV, 28.
45. *Urto*=*urtato.*
48. *Che* is loosely used for *onde* or *da cui.*

'Maestro mio,' rispos' io, 'per udirti
  Son io più certo; ma già m' era avviso 50
  Che così fusse, e già voleva dirti:
Chi è in quel foco che vien sì diviso
  Di sopra che par surger della pira
  Ov' Eteòcle col fratel fu miso?'
Risposemi: 'Là entro si martira 55
  Ulisse e Diomede, e così insieme
  Alla vendetta vanno come all' ira.
E dentro dalla lor fiamma si geme
  L' aguato del caval che fe' la porta
  Ond' uscì de' Romani il gentil seme. 60
Piangevisi entro l' arte per che morta
  Deïdamìa ancor si duol d' Achille.
  E del Palladio pena vi si porta.'
'S' ei posson dentro da quelle faville

50. *M' era avviso*, 'it seemed to me.'

54. Eteòcles and Polynîces, the rival sons of Œdipus, contending for the possession of Thebes, killed each other. When their bodies were burned on the same pyre, the flames divided into two peaks. *Thebaid*, XII, 420 ff. Cf. *Phars.*, I, 551–2:

> 'Scinditur in partes, geminoque cacumine surgit,
> Thebanos imitata rogos.'

57. Ulysses and Diomed, two of the leading heroes of the Trojan war, go together in their punishment, as they went together to expose themselves to divine wrath.

58. *Si geme*, 'they groan for.'

59. 'The ambush of the horse': the wooden horse full of Greek warriors, which the Trojans were persuaded to take into the city. By this means Troy was destroyed, and Æneas and his followers, who afterwards founded the Roman stock, had to flee. *Æn.*, II, 13 ff. In Virgil's account, Diomed has no share in this enterprise.

61. *Entro* is an adverb, 'inside.' Thetis, to save her son Achilles from the war, disguised him as a girl and entrusted him to King Lycomedes of Scyros; there he won the love of the king's daughter Deidamîa, and promised to be true to her. Discovered by Ulysses and Diomed, he went with them to the war, and forgot his promise. *Deidamia* now mourns in the Limbus: *Purg.* XXII, 114. The story is told by Statius in the *Achilleid*, II, 15 ff.

63. Ulysses and Diomed stole the Palladium, an image of Pallas, on which the fate of Troy depended: *Æn.*, II, 162 ff.

Parlar,' diss' io, 'Maestro, assai ten prego 65
E riprego, che il prego vaglia mille,
Che non mi facci dell' attender nego,
Finchè la fiamma cornuta qua vegna.
Vedi che del disio ver lei mi piego.'
Ed egli a me : 'La tua preghiera è degna 70
Di molta lode, ed io però l' accetto ;
Ma fa' che la tua lingua si sostegna.
Lascia parlare a me ; ch' io ho concetto
Ciò che tu vuoi. Ch' ei sarebbero schivi,
Perch' ei fur Greci, forse del tuo detto.' 75
Poi che la fiamma fu venuta quivi,
Dove parve al mio Duca tempo e loco,
In questa forma lui parlare audivi :
'O voi, che siete due dentro ad un foco,
S' io meritai di voi mentre ch' io vissi, 80
S' io meritai di voi assai o poco,
Quando nel mondo gli alti versi scrissi,
Non vi movete ; ma l' un di voi dica
Dove per lui perduto a morir gissi.'
Lo maggior corno della fiamma antica 85
Cominciò a crollarsi mormorando,
Pur come quella cui vento affatica.
Indi la cima qua e là menando,
Come fosse la lingua che parlasse,

67. *Facci*=*faccia*. *Nego*, 'denial': of waiting for the 'horned flame.'
72. *Si sostegna*, 'restrain itself.'
73. *Concetto*, 'guessed.'
74. *Schivi*, 'shy': of thy speech. From these lines and XXVII, 33, it may be inferred that Virgil thought himself less remote than Dante from the ancient Greeks, and more likely to influence them.
78. *Audivi*=*udii*.
80. Virgil assumes that he has immortalized Ulysses and Diomed in his *Æneid*.
84. *Per lui . . . gissi* (*si gì*)=*egli andò*: for this curious construction, see I, 126.

Gittò voce di fuori, e disse: 'Quando 90
Mi diparti' da Circe, che sottrasse
Me più d' un anno là presso a Gaeta, —
Prima che sì Enea la nominasse, —
Nè dolcezza di figlio, nè la pieta
Del vecchio padre, nè il debito amore, 95
Lo qual dovea Penelope far lieta,
Vincer poter dentro da me l' ardore
Ch' i' ebbi a divenir del mondo esperto,
E degli vizii umani e del valore;
Ma misi me per l' alto mare aperto 100
Sol con un legno e con quella compagna
Picciola, dalla qual non fui deserto.
L' un lito e l' altro vidi infin la Spagna,
Fin nel Morrocco, e l' isola de' Sardi,
E l' altre che quel mare intorno bagna. 105
Io e i compagni eravam vecchi e tardi,
Quando venimmo a quella foce stretta
Ov' Ercole segnò li suoi riguardi
Acciocchè l' uom più oltre non si metta.
Dalla man destra mi lasciai Sibilia, 110
Dall' altra già m' avea lasciata Setta.
"O frati, dissi, che per cento milia

91. Circe, daughter of the sun, was a sorceress who turned men into beasts: *Æn.*, VII, 10 ff. Ulysses visited her and compelled her to restore her victims to human form: *Met.*, XIV, 245 ff.

92. Æneas named the place in memory of his nurse Caieta, who had died there: *Æn.*, VII, 1 ff.; *Met.*, XIV, 441 ff.

94. *Pièta*, 'duty': to my 'old father.'

99. *Valore*, 'goodness.'

103. Ulysses explores both shores of the Mediterranean, and its islands.

108. 'Where Hercules set up his marks': the pillars of Hercules, on either side of the Strait of Gibraltar.

109. *Più oltre non: ne plus ultra.*

110. *Sibilia:* Seville.

111. *Setta:* Ceuto.

112. Cf. the speech of Æneas beginning 'O socii': *Æn.*, I, 198 ff. — *Milia* = *mila*.

Perigli siete giunti all' occidente,
A questa tanto picciola vigilia
De' nostri sensi ch' è del rimanente 115
Non vogliate negar l' esperïenza,
Diretro al sol, del mondo senza gente.
Considerate la vostra semenza:
Fatti non foste a viver come bruti,
Ma per seguir virtute e conoscenza." 120
Li miei compagni fec' io sì acuti,
Con questa orazion picciola, al cammino,
Che appena poscia gli avrei ritenuti.
E volta nostra poppa nel mattino,
De' remi facemmo ali al folle volo, 125
Sempre acquistando dal lato mancino.
Tutte le stelle già dell' altro polo
Vedea la notte, e il nostro tanto basso
Che non surgeva fuor del marin suolo.
Cinque volte racceso e tante casso 130
Lo lume era di sotto dalla luna
Poi ch' entrati eravam nell' alto passo,
Quando n' apparve una montagna bruna
Per la distanza, e parvemi alta tanto

115. *Ch' è del rimanente*, 'which is left.'
117. *Diretro al sol*, 'following the sun': sailing into the west. 'The world without men' is the Hemisphere of Water.
121. *Acuti*, 'keen.'
124. They turn their stern to the morning and sail forth, constantly gaining on the left; that is, their course is not due west, but southwest.
128. *Vedea la notte* may mean 'night beheld' or 'I beheld at night.' *Il nostro*: our northern pole; when they pass the equator, the North Star sinks below the 'sea level.'
130. *Casso*, 'quenched.' They have sailed five months.
131. 'The light beneath the moon' may mean the moonlight on the water or the light on the under side of the moon (the side turned toward the earth).
133. Doubtless the mountain of Purgatory, directly opposite Jerusalem, in the middle of the Hemisphere of Water: cf. *Purg*. III, 15; *Par*. XXVI, 139. — *Bruna*, 'murky.'

Quanto veduta non n' aveva alcuna. 135
Noi ci allegrammo, e tosto tornò in pianto;
Chè dalla nuova terra un turbo nacque,
E percosse del legno il primo canto.
Tre volte il fe' girar con tutte l' acque,
Alla quarta levar la poppa in suso, 140
E la prora ire in giù, com' Altrui piacque,
Infin che il mar fu sopra noi richiuso.'

137. *Turbo* = *turbine*, 'whirlwind.'
138. *Il primo canto*, 'the front end,' i. e., the prow.
139. *Con tutte l' acque*, 'together with the waters': cf. XXII, 147.
140. With *levar* (and with *ire* in l. 141) supply *fe'*, i. e., *fece*. For the description of the shipwreck, cf. *Æn.*, I, 113–7:

'Unam, quæ Lycios fidumque vehebat Orontem,
Ipsius ante oculos ingens a vertice pontus
In puppim ferit: excutitur pronusque magister
Volvitur in caput; ast illam ter fluctus ibidem
Torquet agens circum, et rapidus vorat æquore vortex.'

CANTO XXVII

ARGUMENT

Guido da Montefeltro, the great Ghibelline general, was one of the foremost Italians of the 13th century. He was famous for his valor, wisdom, courtesy, and especially for his skill in strategy, which won for him the name of 'fox.' Dante's story of his final seduction by Boniface VIII, to whom he was induced, by promise of absolution, to give the evil counsel of taking Palestrina by false pledges, is corroborated by the chronicle of Pipino, written in 1314. The discovery of this early account would seem to settle the much debated question whether the incident was invented by the poet.

What Dante probably did invent is a struggle between Heaven and Hell for the possession of Guido's soul. St. Francis of Assisi, to whose order Guido belonged, comes to claim the departing spirit; but he is opposed by 'one of the black cherubim,' who, after a brief discussion, is victorious. Such a conflict occurs in the *Commedia* in only one other case, that of Guido's son Buonconte, whose tale is told in *Purg*. V, 88 ff. In both instances the theme is introduced to emphasize an important doctrine, namely, that the eternal fate of a soul depends on its intrinsic condition at the moment of death. Though absolved by a Pope, Guido had not genuinely repented of his last misdeed, and therefore the absolution was invalid. Buonconte, on the other hand, though neglectful of his religious duties during life, has, when mortally wounded, an instant of true repentance and love of God, and thus wins salvation. The two contrasted examples are as extreme as the poet could contrive them, and they are the more striking in that the two men are father and son.

For Pipino's text, see Tor., p. 225. For a discussion of the episode: D'Ovidio, 202, 533; E. Gorra, *Il soggettivismo di Dante*, 43–59; H. Honig, *Guido da Montefeltro* (reviewed in *Giorn. stor.*, XXXIX, 422); G. Petraglione in *Giorn. dant.*, XI, 136.

Già era dritta in su la fiamma e queta,
  Per non dir più, e già da noi sen gìa
  Con la licenza del dolce Poeta,
Quando un' altra, che dietro a lei venia,

3. The words of the permission are given in l. 21.

Ne fece volger gli occhi alla sua cima 5
Per un confuso suon che fuor n' uscia.
Come il bue Cicilian, che mugghiò prima
Col pianto di colui (e ciò fu dritto)
Che l' avea temperato con sua lima,
Mugghiava con la voce dell' afflitto 10
Sì che, con tutto ch' ei fosse di rame,
Pure e' pareva dal dolor trafitto:
Così per non aver via nè forame
Dal principio del foco, in suo linguaggio
Si convertivan le parole grame. 15
Ma poscia ch' ebber colto lor viaggio
Su per la punta, dandole quel guizzo
Che dato avea la lingua in lor passaggio,
Udimmo dire: 'O tu, a cui io drizzo
La voce, e che parlavi mo Lombardo, 20
Dicendo: "issa ten va, più non t' adizzo,"
Perch' io sia giunto forse alquanto tardo,
Non t' incresca restare a parlar meco.

7. The brazen Sicilian bull, made by Perillus of Athens for Phalăris, tyrant of Agrigentum, was so constructed that the shrieks of victims burned within it sounded like the bellowing of a real beast. Phalaris tried it first on its maker, Perillus. The story is told by Paulus Orosius; it is mentioned also by Pliny, Valerius Maximus, Cicero, and Ovid.

11. *Con tutto*, 'although.'

13. This line and the next are obscure. Perhaps they mean: 'Thus, having no outlet nor escape from the source of the fire (i. e., the soul, from which it emanates), the dreary words were converted into its language (the language of the fire).' The vibrations of the soul's tongue are imparted to the fire, and little by little set the whole flame to oscillating like a great tongue. — Some read *nel* for *del* in l. 14, and interpret *dal principio* as 'at first.'

21. *Issa*, 'now': cf. XXIII, 7. *Adizzo*, 'urge.' There is nothing peculiarly Lombard in this sentence; perhaps Dante meant to give only the Tuscan equivalent of what Virgil really said, or perhaps the suggestion of Lombardy lay in his accent. Dante believed that the popular dialects, though constantly changing, reached back into antiquity, and had always existed side by side with the 'grammatical language,' or Latin; so Virgil, being of Lombard parentage, might appropriately enough use his local dialect.

22. *Perchè*, 'though.'

Vedi che non incresce a me, ed ardo!
Se tu pur mo in questo mondo cieco 25
Caduto sei di quella dolce terra
Latina ond' io mia colpa tutta reco,
Dimmi se i Romagnuoli han pace o guerra;
Ch' io fui de' monti là intra Urbino
E il giogo di che 'l Tever si disserra.' 30
Io era ingiuso ancora attento e chino,
Quando il mio Duca mi tentò di costa,
Dicendo: 'Parla tu, questi è Latino.'
Ed io, ch' avea già pronta la risposta,
Senza indugio a parlare incominciai: 35
'O anima, che se' laggiù nascosta,
Romagna tua non è, e non fu mai,
Senza guerra ne' cor de' suoi tiranni;
Ma 'n palese nessuna or vi lasciai.
Ravenna sta come stata è molti anni: 40
L' aquila da Polenta là si cova
Sì che Cervia ricopre co' suoi vanni.
La terra che fe' già la lunga prova,

25. *Pur mo*, 'but now.'
28. *Romagnuoli*, 'Romagnoles': Romagna is the region lying between the Po, the Apennines, the Adriatic, and the Reno.
30. 'The range from which the Tiber springs' is Monte Coronaro. The county of Montefeltro lies between Urbino and the Tuscan Apennines.
32. *Tentò di costa*, 'nudged.' Cf. XXVI, 74.
39. In April, 1299, the parties, townships, and usurping tyrants of Romagna, after 25 years' strife, concluded a peace.
41, *Cova*, 'broods over.' The Polenta family had ruled Ravenna since 1275, when Guido (father of Francesca da Rimini) returned there with his Guelfs. The family arms contained an eagle.
42. *Vanni*, 'pinions.' Cervia, a small but important town on the Adriatic near Ravenna, was subject to the Polenta family for several years.
43. 'The city' is Forlì, head of the Ghibelline league in Romagna. In 1281–2 it resisted a long siege by the French and the Guelfs sent by Pope Martin IV. In May, 1282, the inhabitants, led by Guido da Montefeltro, issued forth and defeated the besiegers with great slaughter. In 1300 it was ruled by the Ordelaffi, who had in their arms a lion, green in the upper half.

E de' Franceschi sanguinoso mucchio,
Sotto le branche verdi si ritrova. 45
Il Mastin vecchio e il nuovo da Verrucchio,
Che fecer di Montagna il mal governo,
Là dove soglion, fan de' denti succhio.
Le città di Lamone e di Santerno
Conduce il leoncel dal nido bianco, 50
Che muta parte dalla state al verno;
E quella a cui il Savio bagna il fianco,
Così com' ella sie' tra il piano e il monte,
Tra tirannia si vive e stato franco.
Ora chi sei ti prego che ne conte. 55
Non esser duro più ch' altri sia stato,
Se il nome tuo nel mondo tegna fronte.'
Poscia che il foco alquanto ebbe rugghiato
Al modo suo, l' acuta punta mosse
Di qua, di là, e poi diè cotal fiato: 60
'S' io credessi che mia risposta fosse
A persona che mai tornasse al mondo,
Questa fiamma staria senza più scosse:
Ma perocchè giammai di questo fondo

44. *Franceschi* = *Francesi*.
46. The 'old mastiff' is Malatesta da Verrucchio, lord of Rimini, father of Gian Ciotto and Paolo. The 'young mastiff' is Malatestino, another son of Malatesta.
47. In 1296 Malatesta defeated the Ghibelline forces of Rimini and captured their leader Montagna. At the instigation of his father, Malatestino murdered the prisoner. — *Governo*, 'disposal.'
48. 'Make an auger of their teeth,' to gore their subjects and suck their blood.
49. Faenza, on the Lamone, and Imola, near the Santerno, were ruled by Maghinardo di Pagano da Susinana, who bore a blue lion on a white field. He was known as 'the lion' and 'the demon' (*Purg.* XIV, 118), and was notorious for his many changes of party.
52. Cesena, on the Savio, preserved the forms of municipal self-government, but was ruled, from 1296 to 1300, by a boss, Galasso da Montefeltro, a cousin of Guido.
57. *Se . . . tegna*: the formula of adjuration: see X, 82.

Non tornò vivo alcun, s' i' odo il vero, 65
Senza tema d' infamia ti rispondo.
Io fui uom d' arme, e poi fui cordigliero,
Credendomi, sì cinto, fare ammenda.
E certo il creder mio veniva intero,
Se non fosse il gran Prete, a cui mal prenda, 70
Che mi rimise nelle prime colpe;
E come e *quare* voglio che m' intenda.
Mentre ch' io forma fui d' ossa e di polpe,
Che la madre mi diè, l' opere mie
Non furon leonine, ma di volpe. 75
Gli accorgimenti e le coperte vie
Io seppi tutte; e sì menai lor arte
Ch' al fine della terra il suono uscìe.
Quando mi vidi giunto in quella parte
Di mia etade ove ciascun dovrebbe 80
Calar le vele e raccoglier le sarte,
Ciò che pria mi piaceva allor m' increbbe,
E pentuto e confesso mi rendei,
Ahi miser lasso! e giovato sarebbe.
Lo Principe de' nuovi Farisei, 85

67. In his old age Guido became a 'cord-wearer,' i. e., a Franciscan friar.
69. *Veniva intero*, 'would have been fulfilled.'
70. *A cui mal prenda*, 'whom ill befall!'
72. *Quare* (Latin) = *perchè*.
75. Cf. Cicero, *De Officiis*, I, 13 (also *Inf.* XI, 23–6).
76. *Accorgimenti*, 'wiles.'
78. *Uscìe* = *uscì*. Cf. Ps. xix, 4: 'and their words to the end of the world.'
81. *Raccoglier*, 'coil.'
83. *Pentuto* = *pentito*. *Confesso* = *confessato*. *Mi rendei*, 'I gave myself to God,' I became a monk.
84. *Giovato sarebbe*, 'it would have availed.'
85. Boniface VIII, who was waging war at home, close to his Lateran palace, with the Colonna family. In 1297 he excommunicated them and summoned them to surrender, but they entrenched themselves in their strongholds of Palestrina and Zagarolo. Palestrina, about 24 miles from Rome and visible from the Lateran hill, was surrendered to Boniface on false promises, and then demolished.

Avendo guerra presso a Laterano, —
E non con Saracin nè con Giudei,
Chè ciascun suo nimico era Cristiano,
E nessuno era stato a vincer Acri,
Nè mercatante in terra di Soldano, — 90
Nè sommo offizio nè ordini sacri
Guardò in sè, nè in me quel capestro
Che solea far li suoi cinti più macri.
Ma come Constantin chiese Silvestro
Dentro Siratti a guarir della lebbre, 95
Così mi chiese questi per maestro
A guarir della sua superba febbre:
Domandommi consiglio; ed io tacetti,
Perchè le sue parole parver ebbre.
E poi mi disse: "Tuo cor non sospetti. 100
Finor t' assolvo; e tu m' insegna fare
Sì come Penestrino in terra getti.
Lo ciel poss' io serrare e disserrare,
Come tu sai; però son due le chiavi,
Che il mio antecessor non ebbe care." 105
Allor mi pinser gli argomenti gravi
Là 've il tacer mi fu avviso il peggio,

89. Not one of them had been a renegade to help the Saracens take Acre in 1291. The fall of Acre, the last bulwark of Christendom in the East, filled Europe with consternation; and Pope Nicholas IV exhorted the coast towns not to traffic with the lands of the Sultan. Six years later, Boniface was proclaiming a crusade against Christians.

92. *Capestro*, 'rope': the Franciscan girdle, 'which used (in the good old times) to make its wearers lean.'

94. Pope Sylvester I, who had taken refuge on Mt. Soracte, near Rome, was sought out, according to the legend, to cure the Emperor Constantine of leprosy; this he did by baptism. In return for this cure the donation of Constantine was made.

96. *Maestro*, 'physician.'

102. *Penestrino* = *Palestrina*.

104. *Però*, 'wherefor.'

105. *Antecessor:* Celestine V, who renounced the papacy (III, 60; XIX, 56).

E dissi : "Padre, da che tu mi lavi
Di quel peccato ov' io mo cader deggio,
Lunga promessa con l' attender corto 110
Ti farà trionfar nell' alto seggio."
Francesco venne poi, com' io fui morto,
Per me ; ma un de' neri Cherubini
Gli disse : "Nol portar ; non mi far torto.
Venir se ne dee giù tra' miei meschini, 115
Perchè diede il consiglio frodolente,
Dal quale in qua stato gli sono a' crini.
Ch' assolver non si può chi non si pente,
Nè pentere e volere insieme puossi,
Per la contradizion, che nol consente." 120
O me dolente ! come mi riscossi,
Quando mi prese, dicendomi : "Forse
Tu non pensavi ch' io loico fossi !"
A Minòs mi portò ; e quegli attorse
Otto volte la coda al dosso duro, 125
E, poi che per gran rabbia la si morse,
Disse : "Questi è de' rei del foco furo."
Per ch' io là dove vedi son perduto,
E sì vestito andando mi rancuro.'
Quand' egli ebbe il suo dir così compiuto, 130
La fiamma dolorando si partìo,
Torcendo e dibattendo il corno acuto.

110. *Attender*, 'fulfilment.'
115. *Meschini*, 'servitors.'
117. *A' crini:* lurking about his hair, ready to seize him.
119. *Puossi = si può.* One cannot repent without renunciation of the will.
120. *Consente*, 'admits.'
121. *Mi riscossi*, 'I shuddered.'
123. *Loico*, 'a logician.'
125. Cf. V, 11–2.
127. *Furo*, 'thievish': cf. XXVI, 41–2.
129. *Mi rancuro*, 'I repine.'

Noi passammo oltre, ed io e il Duca mio,
  Su per lo scoglio infino in su l' altr' arco,
  Che copre il fosso in che si paga il fio 135
A quei che scommettendo acquistan carco.

135. *Fio*, 'fee': their due.
136. 'To those who make a load by separating': usually a load is made by putting together; but the sowers of discord, who occupy the next *bolgia*, make up their burden of sin by putting asunder those who were united.

CANTO XXVIII

ARGUMENT

An involved simile, at the beginning of this canto, calls up the picture of a vast accumulation of maimed bodies gathered, through the centuries, from the many battlefields of southern Italy. Even this mangled host conveys but a faint idea of the ninth *bolgia*. Creators of strife are here hacked by the sword of a fiend, as they pass by; their horribly dissevered state represents the life of bloodshed and dissension which they loved. Conspicuous among them are Mahomet, the Roman Curio, Mosca de' Lamberti of Florence, and the Provençal warrior-poet Bertran de Born.

Dante's contemporaries believed Mahomet to have been originally not only a Christian, but a cardinal and an aspirant to the papacy. The poet, then, was justified in regarding him and his son-in-law Ali as the leaders of a great schism in the Christian Church.

The tribune Curio, banished from Rome, fled to Cæsar, who was hesitating on the bank of the Rubicon, and 'sunk the doubt' within him by urging him to march on the capital. The event is narrated by Lucan in *Pharsalia*, I, 266 ff. He now wishes he had never seen Rimini, near which town the Rubicon empties into the Adriatic.

In 1215 a Buondelmonte, who was betrothed to a lady of the Amidei family, was induced to jilt her and appear on his wedding-day with a bride from the house of the Donati. The Amidei came together to discuss the best way to avenge this affront. Some advised inflicting on Buondelmonte a beating or a wound in the face. Mosca, however, affirmed that such an attack would result in more harm to the aggressors than to the victim. 'Cosa fatta capo ha,' he declared — 'a thing once done has an end': if we do him a hurt, let it be a final one. The Amidei followed his counsel and murdered the offender. Hence arose the feud between the families and, according to local tradition, the first conflict between Guelfs and Ghibellines in Florence. The Lamberti, to whom Mosca belonged, were afterwards banished from the city and never allowed to return.

Bertran de Born was a Provençal poet of the latter part of the 12th century. To further his private ends, he took advantage of the disputes and wars of Henry II of England and his two elder sons, Henry and Richard, who had extensive possessions in south-

ern France. According to his old Provençal biography, which considerably exaggerates his political importance, Bertran was active in fomenting their quarrels, and formed a close friendship with the younger Henry. This prince was crowned in his father's lifetime, and was consequently known as 'the young English king.' His early death in 1283 was mourned by Bertran in verse that gained wide renown.

Chi poria mai pur con parole sciolte
  Dicer del sangue e delle piaghe appieno,
  Ch' i' ora vidi, per narrar più volte?
Ogni lingua per certo verria meno
  Per lo nostro sermone e per la mente, 5
  Ch' hanno a tanto comprender poco seno.
S' ei s' adunasse ancor tutta la gente
  Che già in sulla fortunata terra
  Di Puglia fu del suo sangue dolente
Per li Troiani, e per la lunga guerra 10
  Che dell' anella fe' sì alte spoglie
  Come Livïo scrive, che non erra;
Con quella che sentì di colpi doglie

1. *Con parole sciolte:* in prose.
2. *Appieno*, 'in full.'
3. *Per narrar*, 'though he should narrate.'
4. *Verria meno*, 'would fall short.'
5. *Per*, 'by reason of.' *Sermone*, 'speech': cf. XIII, 21. *Mente*, 'memory': cf. II, 6.
6. *Comprender*, 'hold.' *Seno*, 'hollow,' i. e., capacity.
7. The *ei* is redundant: it anticipates the real subject, *gente*. In this involved passage, *s' adunasse* is to be connected with *quella* (*gente*) in l. 13 and *l' altra* (*gente*) in l. 15. The conclusion is reached in ll. 20–1.
8. *Fortunata*, 'stormy.'
9. The name Apulia was often given to all the continental part of the Kingdom of Naples.
10. *Per li Troiani*, 'on account of the Trojans,' i. e., the Romans, whose ancestors came from Troy: the allusion is to the conquest of the Samnites by the Romans, perhaps also to the defeat of Pyrrhus. The 'long war' is the Second Punic War, led by Hannibal against Rome.
11. It was said that after the battle of Cannæ Hannibal's troops took from the dead Romans more than three bushels of rings — or (the 'unerring Livy' adds, XXXIII, 12), according to a report nearer the truth, about one bushel. Cf. *Conv.*, IV, v, 164–71. — *Anella*, plural of *anello*.

Per contrastare a Roberto Guiscardo;
E l' altra, il cui ossame ancor s' accoglie 15
A Ceperan, là dove fu bugiardo
Ciascun Pugliese, e là da Tagliacozzo
Ove senz' arme vinse il vecchio Alardo:
E qual forato suo membro e qual mozzo
Mostrasse, da equar sarebbe nulla 20
Al modo della nona bolgia sozzo.
Già veggia per mezzul perdere o lulla,
Com' io vidi un, così non si pertugia,
Rotto dal mento infin dove si trulla.
Tra le gambe pendevan le minugia; 25
La corata pareva, e il tristo sacco
Che merda fa di quel che si trangugia.
Mentre che tutto in lui veder m' attacco,
Guardommi, e con le man s' aperse il petto,

14. *Per contrastare*, 'through opposing' Robert Guiscard, the Norman conqueror who overran southern Italy in the 11th century, and became Duke of Apulia.

15. Those slain in the battle of Benevento, in 1266, where Manfred, son of Frederick II, was defeated by Charles of Anjou, and killed. In reality there was no fight at Ceprano; the first encounter was at S. Germano. Dante apparently followed, with several chroniclers, a false report. Some of the Apulian barons were faithless at Benevento; but the Apulian reputation for inconstancy antedates the battle.

17. *Da*, 'by.' At Tagliacozzo, in 1268, the Imperial forces were again defeated by Charles of Anjou, and Conradin, nephew of Manfred and grandson of Frederick, was captured. The victory was due to the stategy of an elderly French General, Érard de Valéry; he won by his wit rather than by his sword.

19. *Qual . . . qual*, 'one . . . another.' *Membro* is the object of *mostrasse*. *Mozzo*, 'severed.'

20. *Equar*, 'compare.' Cf. *Æn.*, II, 362.

22. *Veggia*, 'cask.' *Mezzul*, 'mid-board': the middle one of the three pieces that compose the bottom of a cask. *Lulla* (half-moon), 'side-piece.'

23. The construction is made clear by transposing the two halves of this line.

24. Cleft from chin to anus.

25. *Minugia*, 'entrails.'

26. *Corata*, 'pluck.' *Sacco:* the stomach.

27. *Si trangugia*, 'is swallowed.'

Dicendo: 'Or vedi come io mi dilacco; 30
Vedi come storpiato è Maometto.
Dinanzi a me sen va piangendo Alì
Fesso nel volto dal mento al ciuffetto.
E tutti gli altri che tu vedi qui
Seminator di scandalo e di scisma 35
Fur vivi; e però son fessi così.
Un diavolo è qua dietro che n' accisma
Sì crudelmente, al taglio della spada
Rimettendo ciascun di questa risma,
Quando avem volta la dolente strada; 40
Perocchè le ferite son richiuse
Prima ch' altri dinanzi gli rivada.
Ma tu chi se' che in sullo scoglio muse,
Forse per indugiar d' ire alla pena
Ch' è giudicata in su le tue accuse?' 45
'Nè morte il giunse ancor, nè colpa il mena,'
Rispose il mio Maestro, 'a tormentarlo.
Ma per dar lui esperïenza piena,
A me, che morto son, convien menarlo
Per lo inferno quaggiù di giro in giro. 50
E questo è ver così com' io ti parlo.'
Più fur di cento che, quando l' udiro,
S' arrestaron nel fosso a riguardarmi,
Per maraviglia obblïando il martiro.

30. *Dilacco*, 'split.'
32. *Alì*, 'Ali': the husband of Mahomet's favorite daughter, and one of his most zealous followers. — Ll. 32, 34, 36 are *versi tronchi*: see IV, 56.
33. *Ciuffetto*, 'forelock.'
37. *Accisma*, 'fashions': cf. Old French *acesmer*, 'arrange.'
39. *Risma*, 'lot.'
42. *Altri*, 'one.'
43. *Muse*, 'dalliest': cf. V, 19.
45. 'Thine own indictment': cf. V, 8.
54. *Martiro* = *martirio*.

'Or di' a Fra Dolcin dunque che s' armi, 55
Tu che forse vedrai lo sole in breve,
S' egli non vuol qui tosto seguitarmi,
Sì di vivanda che stretta di neve
Non rechi la vittoria al Noarese,
Ch' altrimenti acquistar non saria lieve.' 60
Poi che l' un piè per girsene sospese,
Maometto mi disse esta parola;
Indi a partirsi in terra lo distese.
Un altro, che forata avea la gola
E tronco il naso infin sotto le ciglia, 65
E non avea ma' ch' un' orecchia sola,
Restato a riguardar per maraviglia
Con gli altri, innanzi agli altri aprì la canna,
Ch' era di fuor d' ogni parte vermiglia;
E disse: 'Tu, cui colpa non condanna, 70
E cui io vidi su in terra Latina,
Se troppa simiglianza non m' inganna,
Rimembriti di Pier da Medicina,
Se mai torni a veder lo dolce piano

55. *S' armi*, 'provide himself,' is to be connected with *di vivanda* in l. 58. Fra Dolcino, as he was generally called (though not a friar), became the leader of the heretical sect called the Apostolic Brethren, whose aim was to bring the Church and mankind back to a state of primitive simplicity. He made many converts in northern Italy. A crusade having been proclaimed against him by Clement V, he took refuge, in the winter of 1306, in the stronghold of Zebello, where he was besieged for three months and finally taken, after three days' fighting. He was put to death in Novara. According to Dante's version, he was obliged by snow and famine to surrender.

58. *Stretta*, 'block.'

59. *Al Noarese*, 'to the Novarese,' the people of Novara.

61. Mahomet is so eager to give this warning that he speaks while his foot is uplifted to depart.

66. *Ma'* = *più*.

68. *Canna*, 'gullet': cf. VI, 27.

73. Of this acquaintance of the poet, nothing is known. Medicina is a little town near Bologna. The *dolce piano* is the plain of the Po, sloping from Vercelli to the stronghold of Marcabò, near Ravenna.

Che da Vercelli a Marcabò dichina. 75
E fa' saper ai due miglior di Fano,
A messer Guido ed anco ad Angiolello,
Che, se l' antiveder qui non è vano,
Gittati saran fuor di lor vasello
E mazzerati presso alla Cattolica, 80
Per tradimento d' un tiranno fello.
Tra l' isola di Cipri e di Maiolica
Non vide mai sì gran fallo Nettuno,
Non da pirati, non da gente Argolica.
Quel traditor che vede pur con l' uno, 85
E tien la terra che tal è qui meco
Vorrebbe di vedere esser digiuno,
Farà venirli a parlamento seco;
Poi farà sì che al vento di Focara
Non farà lor mestier voto nè preco.' 90
Ed io a lui: 'Dimostrami e dichiara,
Se vuoi ch' io porti su di te novella,
Chi è colui dalla veduta amara.'
Allor pose la mano alla mascella

77. Guido del Cassero and Agnolello di Carignano belonged to opposing factions in the town of Fano; almost nothing else is known of them, nor have we any other information about the crime here predicted.
79. *Vasello*, 'bark.'
80. *Mazzerati*, 'drowned.' *Cattolica:* a place on the Adriatic between Rimini and Pesaro. Ll. 80, 82, 84 are *versi sdruccioli:* see XV, 1.
82. *Cipri*, 'Cyprus,' *Maiolica*, 'Majorca.' From one end of the Mediterranean to the other.
84. *Gente Argolica* (*Æn.*, II, 78), 'Argolic people,' i. e., Greeks, famous of old as sea-robbers.
85. *Uno*, sc., *occhio:* Malatestino (XXVII, 46) was one-eyed.
86. *Terra:* Rimini. *Tal:* Curio (cf. l. 102).
87. Wishes he had never seen: cf. XVIII, 42.
88. *Parlamento*, 'parley.'
90. They need offer no vow nor prayer to the wind of Focara, i. e., they need have no fear of being shipwrecked, because they will be already drowned. The squalls blowing from Focara (near 'la Cattolica') were dangerous to sailors.
93. That is, the one who wishes he had never seen Rimini: cf. l. 87.

D' un suo compagno, e la bocca gli aperse 95
Gridando: 'Questi è desso, e non favella.
Questi, scacciato, il dubitar sommerse
In Cesare, affermando che il fornito
Sempre con danno l' attender sofferse.'
O quanto mi pareva sbigottito, 100
Con la lingua tagliata nella strozza,
Curio, ch' a dire fu così ardito!
Ed un ch' avea l' una e l' altra man mozza,
Levando i moncherin per l' aura fosca,
Sì che il sangue facea la faccia sozza, 105
Gridò: 'Ricordera' ti anche del Mosca,
Che dissi, lasso! "Capo ha cosa fatta,"
Che fu il mal seme per la gente tosca.'
Ed io gli aggiunsi: 'E morte di tua schiatta.'
Per ch' egli, accumulando duol con duolo, 110
Sen gìo come persona trista e matta.
Ma io rimasi a riguardar lo stuolo,
E vidi cosa ch' io avrei paura,
Senza più prova, di contarla solo;
Se non che coscïenza mi assicura, 115
La buona compagnia che l' uom francheggio
Sotto l' osbergo del sentirsi pura.
Io vidi certo, ed ancor par ch' io 'l veggia,
Un busto senza capo andar, sì come
Andavan gli altri della trista greggia. 120

98. 'The man prepared has always lost by delay (endured waiting to his loss)' is a paraphrase of the words of Curio in *Phars.*, I, 281: 'semper nocuit differre paratis.'
100. *Sbigottito*, 'aghast.'
101. *Strozza*, 'throat.'
104. *Moncherin*, 'stumps.'
112. *Stuolo*: cf. XIV, 32.
116. 'That good companion that emboldens a man.'
117. 'Under the hauberk of conscious purity.'

E il capo tronco tenea per le chiome,
Pesol con mano a guisa di lanterna,
E quel mirava noi, e dicea: 'O me!'
Di sè faceva a sè stesso lucerna,
Ed eran due in uno, ed uno in due. 125
Com' esser può, Quei sa che sì governa.
Quando diritto al piè del ponte fue,
Levò il braccio alto con tutta la testa
Per appressarne le parole sue,
Che furo: 'Or vedi la pena molesta 130
Tu che, spirando, vai veggendo i morti;
Vedi se alcuna è grande come questa.
E perchè tu di me novella porti,
Sappi ch' io son Bertram dal Bornio, quelli
Che diedi al re giovane i mai conforti. 135
Io feci il padre e il figlio in sè ribelli.
Achitofel non fe' più d' Absalone
E di David co' malvagi pungelli.
Perch' io partii così giunte persone,

122. *Pesol*, 'dangling.'
126. *Governa*, 'ordains.'
128. *Con tutta la testa*, 'head and all': cf. XXII, 147.
132. Cf. Lamentations i, 12: 'behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow.'
135. *Mai = mali*: 'the wicked encouragement.' The great weight of manuscript evidence is in favor of the reading *re Giovanni*, instead of *re giovane*, and it must be confessed that *Giovanni* makes a much smoother line. But Bertran's relations were with Henry II and his oldest son, also named Henry, and commonly called 'the young king'; he had dealings also with Richard (afterwards Richard I), but none with John (subsequently King John). Either Dante or his first copyists must have made a blunder: inasmuch as there is every reason to believe that Dante was familiar with Bertran's poems and the Provençal biography of him, we may confidently ascribe the mistake to the copyists. At that time *giovane* and *Giovanni* might be spelled exactly alike.
138. *Malvagi pungelli*, 'evil instigations.' For the story of Absalom and Ahithophel, see II Samuel xiv–xviii.

Partito porto il mio cerebro, lasso! 140
Dal suo principio ch' è in questo troncone.
Così s' osserva in me lo contrapasso.'

141. The 'source' of the brain is the spinal column. *Troncone*, 'trunk.'
142. *Contrapasso*, 'retribution': the law of retaliation, according to which the penalties are meted out in Hell. Cf. Exod. xxi, 24; Levit. xxiv, 20; Deut. xix, 21; Mat. v, 38.

CANTO XXIX

ARGUMENT

The sight of the sowers of discord exercises a curious fascination on the beholder, who gazes on their 'strange wounds' with 'drunken eyes' until he is brought to his senses by a reproof from Virgil. In other words, Dante, who was himself prone to strife, in his contemplation of this sin is beginning to feel more satisfaction than abhorrence, and needs to be warned by Reason that he is not meditating in the proper spirit. A similar lapse is described at the end of the next canto. Dante attempts to justify his eagerness by the statement that he was searching for the shade of Geri del Bello, a first cousin of his father, who is punished in this ditch. The early commentators give Geri a black character; but we really know little of him except that his house was damaged by the Ghibellines in 1260, that he received compensation for it from the Guelfs in 1269, and that he was killed by one of the Sacchetti. The resulting feud between the families was ended by a reconciliation in 1342. In 1300 his death, to Dante's shame, was still unavenged. Vengeance for a relative's murder was regarded, in spite of Christian teaching, as a part of a gentleman's duty. This doctrine is explicitly laid down by Brunetto Latini in his *Tesoretto*, XVIII. Dante himself wrote, in Canzone XII, 83:

'Chè bell' onor s' acquista in far vendetta.'

Forese Donati, in his third sonnet to Dante, derisively said to him:

'Ben so che fosti figliuol d' Allaghieri,
E accorgomene pur alla vendetta
Che facesti di lui sì bella e netta.'

The tenth valley — the last of Malebolge — contains falsifiers of all kinds. Those described fall into four classes: falsifiers of metals, or alchemists; falsifiers of persons, or impersonators; falsifiers of coin, or counterfeiters; falsifiers of words, or liars. It is to be noted that the alchemists here confined are damned as cheats, not as disturbers of God's creation. The sin of all these culprits is symbolized by devastating disease, which alters their appearance: as they tried to change the aspect of things, so are they transformed by loathsome maladies.

See I. Del Lungo, *Dal secolo e dal poema di Dante*, 1898, p. 65 (*Una vendetta in Firenze*).

La molta gente e le diverse piaghe
  Avean le luci mie sì inebrïate
  Che dello stare a piangere eran vaghe.
Ma Virgilio mi disse : 'Chè pur guate?
  Perchè la vista tua pur si soffolge   5
  Laggiù tra l' ombre triste smozzicate?
Tu non hai fatto sì all' altre bolge.
  Pensa, se tu annoverar le credi,
  Che miglia ventidue la valle volge ;
E già la luna è sotto i nostri piedi.   10
  Lo tempo è poco omai che n' è concesso,
  Ed altro è da veder che tu non vedi.'
'Se tu avessi,' rispos' io appresso,
  'Atteso alla cagion per ch' io guardava,
  Forse m' avresti ancor lo star dimesso.'   15
Parte sen gìa, ed io retro gli andava,
  Lo Duca, già facendo la risposta,
  E soggiungendo : 'Dentro a quella cava
Dov' io teneva or gli occhi sì a posta,

1. *Diverse*, 'strange': cf. XXII, 10; XXIV, 83.
2. *Luci*, 'eyes.'
3. *Vaghe*, 'eager.'
4. *Chè pur guate*, 'why dost thou naught but stare?' Cf. V, 19.
5. *Si soffolge*, 'rests.'
6. *Smozzicate*, 'mutilated.'
8. *Annoverar*, 'count.'
9. We learn from XXX, 86, that the 10th and last *bolgia* is eleven miles in circumference. These figures do not afford a clue for any further computations; they give, however, an impression of exactness, and they indicate a near approach to the centre of the earth; furthermore, they suggest by contrast the vast dimensions of the upper circles. The number 22 was one that would naturally occur to Dante in speaking of a circle, because the relation of circumference to diameter was expressed by the ratio of 22 to 7.
10. The moon being under their feet, the sun must be over their heads: it is about noon in Jerusalem.
15. *Dimesso*, 'granted.'
16. *Parte*, 'while.' The *ed* is untranslatable: cf. XIX, 3. The construction is: *Parte se ne gìa lo Duca, (ed) io retro gli andava, già facendo*, etc.
19. *A posta*, 'fixed.'

Credo che un spirto del mio sangue pianga 20
La colpa che laggiù cotanto costa.'
Allor disse il Maestro: 'Non si franga
Lo tuo pensier da qui innanzi sopr' ello.
Attendi ad altro, ed ei là si rimanga.
Ch' io vidi lui a piè del ponticello 25
Mostrarti, e minacciar forte col dito,
Ed udì 'l nominar Geri del Bello.
Tu eri allor sì del tutto impedito
Sopra colui che già tenne Altaforte
Che non guardasti in là, sì fu partito.' 30
'O Duca mio, la violenta morte
Che non gli è vendicata ancor,' diss' io,
'Per alcun che dell' onta sia consorte,
Fece lui disdegnoso; ond' ei sen giò
Senza parlarmi, sì com' io stimo. 35
Ed in ciò m' ha e' fatto a sè più pio.'
Così parlammo infino al loco primo
Che dello scoglio l' altra valle mostra,
Se più lume vi fosse, tutto ad imo.
Quando noi fummo in sull' ultima chiostra 40
Di Malebolge, sì che i suoi conversi
Potean parere alla veduta nostra,

22. 'Let not thy thought shatter itself upon him,' like a missile hurled violently at something hard.

28. *Impedito*, 'absorbed.' *Altaforte*, or Hautefort (Provençal *Autafort*), was the castle of Bertran de Born.

30. *In là*, 'that way.' *Sì*, 'until': cf. XIX, 44.

33. *Consorte*, 'partner': by any of his relatives.

36. The thought of Geri's just grievance against him makes Dante more compassionate.

38. *Dello* = *dallo*. *L' altra valle:* the 10th *bolgia*.

39. (And) if there were more light, (would reveal it) quite to the bottom.

40. *Chiostra* means 'enclosure' and also 'cloister'; the latter sense suggests the 'lay brothers' (*conversi*) of l. 41.

Lamenti saettaron me diversi,
Che di pietà ferrati avean gli strali;
Ond' io gli orecchi colle man copersi. 45
Qual dolor fora, se degli spedali
Di Valdichiana tra il luglio e il settembre,
E di Maremma e di Sardigna, i mali
Fossero in una fossa tutti insembre,
Tal era quivi, e tal puzzo n' usciva 50
Qual suol venir delle marcite membre.
Noi discendemmo in sull' ultima riva
Del lungo scoglio, pur da man sinistra,
Ed allor fu la mia vista più viva
Giù ver lo fondo, là 've la ministra 55
Dell' alto Sire, infallibil giustizia,
Punisce i falsator che qui registra.
Non credo che a veder maggior tristizia
Fosse in Egina il popol tutto infermo,
Quando fu l' aer sì pien di malizia 60
Che gli animali infino al picciol vermo

43. *Diversi:* cf. l. 1.
44. *Ferrati*, 'headed,' 'pointed.' *Strali*, 'shafts.'
46. The *qual* is correlative with *tal* in l. 50. The swampy Valdichiana and Maremma (in eastern and western Tuscany) and the fens of Sardinia were noted haunts of malaria in the hot season.
48. *Mali*, 'diseases.'
49. *Insembre*=*insieme*.
50. *Tal*, sc., *dolor*.
51. *Delle*=*dalle*. *Membre*=*membra*.
52. *Riva:* the further, inner bank of the 10th and last *bolgia*. The poets climb down, on the left, from the ridge to the bank itself; they do not mount the ridge again.
55. *'Ve*=*ove*.
57. *Qui:* on earth.
58. Construe: *Non credo che il popolo tutto infermo in Egina fosse maggior tristizia* ('sadder') *a veder* . . . The second member of the comparison begins with *che* in l. 65. A pest sent by Juno carried off the inhabitants and even the animals that occupied the island of Ægina; afterwards, at the prayer of Æacus, the sole survivor, Jupiter restored the population by turning ants into men: *Met.*, VII, 518 ff. Cf. *Conv.*, IV, xxvii, 160–8.

Cascaron tutti, e poi le genti antiche,
Secondo che i poeti hanno per fermo,
Si ristorar di seme di formiche,
Ch' era a veder per quella oscura valle 65
Languir gli spirti per diverse biche.
Qual sopra il ventre, e qual sopra le spalle
L' un dell' altro giacea, e qual carpone
Si trasmutava per lo tristo calle.
Passo passo andavam senza sermone, 70
Guardando ed ascoltando gli ammalati,
Che non potean levar le lor persone.
Io vidi due sedere a sè poggiati,
Come a scaldar si poggia tegghia a tegghia,
Dal capo al piè di schianze maculati. 75
E non vidi giammai menare stregghia
Da ragazzo aspettato dal signorso,
Nè da colui che mal volentier vegghia,
Come ciascun menava spesso il morso
Dell' unghie sopra sè per la gran rabbia 80
Del pizzicor, che non ha più soccorso.
E sì traevan giù l' unghie la scabbia,
Come coltel di scardova le scaglie,
O d' altro pesce che più larghe l' abbia.
'O tu che colle dita ti dismaglie,' 85
Cominciò il Duca mio all' un di loro,

66. *Biche*, 'stacks': cf. IX, 78.
74. *Tegghia*, 'pan.'
75. *Schianze*, 'scabs.'
76. *Stregghia* = *striglia*, 'currycomb.'
77. *Ragazzo*, 'stable-boy.' *Signorso* = *signor suo.*
78. *Vegghia*, 'stays awake': one who is in a hurry to get to bed.
79. *Morso*, 'bite,' i. e., edge.
81. *Pizzicor*, 'itching.'
83. *Scardova*, 'bream.'
85. *Dismaglie*, 'dismailest': cf. V, 19.

'E che fai d' esse tal volta tanaglie,
Dinne s' alcun Latino è tra costoro
Che son quinc' entro, se l' unghia ti basti
Eternalmente a cotesto lavoro.' 90
'Latin sem noi, che tu vedi sì guasti
Qui ambedue,' rispose l' un piangendo:
'Ma tu chi se', che di noi domandasti?'
E il Duca disse: 'Io son un che discendo
Con questo vivo giù di balzo in balzo, 95
E di mostrar l' inferno a lui intendo.'
Allor si ruppe lo comun rincalzo;
E tremando ciascuno a me si volse
Con altri che l' udiron di rimbalzo.
Lo buon Maestro a me tutto s' accolse, 100
Dicendo: 'Di' a lor ciò che tu vuoli.'
Ed io incominciai, poscia ch' ei volse:
'Se la vostra memoria non s' imboli
Nel primo mondo dall' umane menti,
Ma s' ella viva sotto molti soli, 105
Ditemi chi voi siete e di che genti.
La vostra sconcia e fastidiosa pena
Di palesarvi a me non vi spaventi.'

88. *Latino:* cf. XXII, 65.
89. *Se l' unghia*, etc.: formula of adjuration: cf. X, 82.
91. *Sem*=*siamo:* cf. IV, 41.
95. *Balzo*, 'ledge.'
96. *Intendo*, 'I am busied.'
97. *Rincalzo*, 'support,' of the two invalids who are propped against each other, like pans.
99. *Di rimbalzo*, 'on the rebound': who caught the words that were directed at the two lepers.
100. *S' accolse*, 'drew close.'
101. *Vuoli*=*vuoi.*
102. *Volse*=*volle.*
103. *S' imboli*, 'steal away.' Ll. 103, 105 contain the same construction as l. 89.

'Io fui d' Arezzo, ed Albero da Siena,'
Rispose l' un, 'mi fe' mettere al foco; 110
Ma quel perch' io morì qui non mi mena.
Ver è ch' io dissi a lui, parlando a gioco,
Io mi saprei levar per l' aere a volo;
E quei, che avea vaghezza e senno poco,
Volle ch' io gli mostrassi l' arte; e solo 115
Perch' io nol feci Dedalo, mi fece
Ardere a tal, che l' avea per figliuolo.
Ma nell' ultima bolgia delle diece
Me per alchìmia che nel mondo usai
Dannò Minos, a cui fallar non lece.' 120
Ed io dissi al Poeta: 'Or fu giammai
Gente sì vana come la sanese?
Certo non la francesca sì d' assai.'
Onde l' altro lebbroso, che m' intese,
Rispose al detto mio: 'Trammene Stricca, 125
Che seppe far le temperate spese;
E Niccolò, che la costuma ricca

109. Most of the early commentators give the name of the speaker as Griffolino; a 'Maestro Griffolino da Arezzo' is attested in Bologna in 1259. Albero da Siena belonged to a rich and noble family, and was alive as late as 1294; nothing more is known of him.

111. One of the early commentators, Jacopo della Lana, says that Griffolino was burned for heresy. But what brings him here is alchemy.

114. *Vaghezza*, 'curiosity.'

116. Because I did not teach him to fly like Dædalus. Cf. XVII, 109.

117. *A tal*, 'by a certain man': the early commentators say it was the bishop of Siena. The latter part of the line probably means: 'who loved him (Albero) as a son.'

120. *Lece*, 'it is permitted.'

122. *Vana*, 'silly.' The foolishness of the Sienese was a standing joke in the rival city of Florence.

124. We learn in l. 136 that 'the other leper' is Capocchio. — *Intese*, 'heard.'

125. *Trammene*, 'except': evidently ironical. *Stricca:* probably Giovanni Stricca de' Salimbeni, mayor of Bologna in 1276 and 1286.

127. *Niccolò*, said to be a brother of Stricca. Capocchio calls him the inventor of the 'costly fashion of the clove,' that is, apparently, the one who

Del garofano prima discoperse
Nell' orto dove tal seme s' appicca;
E tranne la brigata in che disperse 130
Caccia d' Ascian la vigna e la gran fronda,
E l' Abbagliato il suo senno proferse.
Ma perchè sappi chi sì ti seconda
Contra i Sanesi, aguzza ver me l' occhio
Sì che la faccia mia ben ti risponda; 135
Sì vedrai ch' io son l' ombra di Capocchio,
Che falsai li metalli con alchìmia.
E ti dei ricordar, se ben t' adocchio,
Com' io fui di natura buona scimia.'

introduced into Siena the use of cloves as a spice. Cloves, which were imported from the East, paid a heavy duty.

129. 'The garden where such seed takes root' is Siena, where a foolish custom, once started, is bound to thrive.

130. Excepting also the *brigata spendereccia*, or Spendthrifts' Club, a group of young men who vied with one another in extravagance. — *Disperse*, 'squandered.'

131. *Caccia d' Ascian* is perhaps the poet known as Caccia da Siena. *Vigna*, 'vineyards.' *Fronda*, 'forests.'

132. *L' Abbagliato:* a nickname of Bartolommeo Folcacchieri, a brother of the poet Folcacchiero. He held important offices, and lived as late as 1300. — *Proferse*, 'displayed.'

136. Capocchio was burned alive in Siena in 1293.

138. *Se ben t' adocchio*, 'if I descry thee aright': if thou art really the man I think.

139. *Scimia* = *scimmia*, 'ape.'

CANTO XXX

ARGUMENT

False personation is represented by Myrrha of Cyprus and Gianni Schicchi of Florence; counterfeiting by the counts of Romena and their agent, Master Adam; lying by Potiphar's wife and Sinon the Greek. Before leaving this valley, Dante, listening to a vulgar altercation, shows the same weakness for which he was rebuked in the preceding canto.

Nel tempo che Giunone era crucciata
  Per Semelè contra il sangue tebano, —
  Come mostrò una ed altra fiata, —
Atamante divenne tanto insano
  Che, veggendo la moglie con due figli   5
  Andar carcata da ciascuna mano,
Gridò: 'Tendiam le reti, sì ch' io pigli
  La leonessa e i leoncini al varco.'
  E poi distese i dispietati artigli,
Prendendo l' un che avea nome Learco,   10
  E rotollo, e percosselo ad un sasso.
  E quella s' annegò con l' altro carco.
E quando la fortuna volse in basso

1. Juno was enraged at the royal family of Thebes on account of the love of Jupiter and Semĕle, daughter of Cadmus, the founder and king of that city. Cf. *Met.*, III, 253 ff.
2. For the accentuation *Semelè*, see V, 4. In Latin poetry the ictus fell on the final syllable of such names as Sĕmĕlē, Hĕcătē, Tīsĭphŏnē: cf. *Met.*, III, 293; *Æn.*, IV, 609, X, 761.
3. The two instances are the destruction of Semele and the tragic incident that follows (*Met.*, IV, 512 ff.).
5. *La moglie:* Ino, sister of Semele and nurse of Bacchus, Semele's child by Jupiter. Ino and Athămas had two children, Learchus and Melicerta.
11. *Rotollo = lo rotò*, 'whirled him.'
12. *Quella:* Ino. *L' altro carco:* cf. l. 6.

L' altezza de' Troian che tutto ardiva,
Sì che insieme col regno il re fu casso, 15
Ecuba trista, misera e cattiva,
Poscia che vide Polissena morta,
E del suo Polidoro in su la riva
Del mar si fu la dolorosa accorta,
Forsennata latrò sì come cane; 20
Tanto il dolor le fe' la mente torta.
Ma nè di Tebe furie nè Troiane
Si vider mai in alcun tanto crude,
Non punger bestie, non che membra umane,
Quant' io vidi in due ombre smorte e nude 25
Che mordendo correvan di quel modo
Che il porco quando del porcil si schiude.
L' una giunse a Capocchio, ed in sul nodo
Del collo l' assannò sì che tirando
Grattar gli fece il ventre al fondo sodo. 30
E l' Aretin, che rimase tremando,
Mi disse: 'Quel folletto è Gianni Schicchi,
E va rabbioso altrui così conciando.'

15. *Casso*, 'undone.' Cf. *Met.*, XIII, 404: 'Troia simul Priamusque cadunt.'
16. *Cattiva*, 'captive.' After the fall of Troy, Hecuba and her daughter Polyxĕna were carried away as slaves. On the way to Greece Polyxena was slain as a victim on the tomb of Achilles, to whom she had been promised. Hecuba's son, Polydorus, who had been entrusted to Polymestor, king of Thrace, was murdered by him and thrown into the sea. As the unhappy mother went to wash from her hands the blood of Polyxena, she saw the corpse of her son on the shore. In her frenzy she tore out Polymestor's eyes, and when she tried to speak, began to bark. Cf. *Met.*, XIII, 399-575.
21. *Torta*, 'distraught.'
22. No furies (such as possessed Athamas and Hecuba) were ever beheld possessing any one, beast or man, equal in cruelty to the furies that possessed two pallid shades in the 10th *bolgia*.
24. 'Goading beasts, much less human flesh.'
28. *Nodo*, 'nape.'
29. *Assannò*, 'gored.'
31. *L' Aretin:* Griffolino.
32. *Folletto*, 'goblin.'

'O,' diss' io lui, 'se l' altro non ti ficchi
Li denti addosso, non ti sia fatica 35
A dir chi è, pria che di qui si spicchi.'
Ed egli a me: 'Quell' è l' anima antica
Di Mirra scellerata, che divenne
Al padre, fuor del dritto amore, amica.
Questa a peccar con esso così venne, 40
Falsificando sè in altrui forma,
Come l' altro che là sen va sostenne,
Per guadagnar la donna della torma,
Falsificare in sè Buoso Donati,
Testando e dando al testamento norma.' 45
E poi che i duo rabbiosi fur passati,
Sopra cu' io avea l' occhio tenuto,
Rivolsilo a guardar gli altri mal nati.
Io vidi un fatto a guisa di liuto,
Pur ch' egli avesse avuta l' anguinaia 50
Tronca dal lato che l' uomo ha forcuto.
La grave idropisì, che sì dispaia
Le membra, con l' umor che mal converte,
Che il viso non risponde alla ventraia,

34. *L' altro*, sc., *folletto*. Formula of adjuration: cf. X, 82.
36. *Si spicchi*, 'he breaks away.'
38. Myrrha was the daughter of Cinyras, king of Cyprus. Cf. *Met.*, X, 298 ff.
42. *L' altro:* Gianni Schicchi. *Sostenne*, 'undertook.' Schicchi, a famous mimic, belonged to the house of Cavalcanti. According to the story, Buoso Donati, a wealthy Guelf, bequeathed a large part of his property to churches and monasteries. To prevent the execution of this will, his son Taddeo concealed his death and engaged Gianni to impersonate the dying Buoso. This he did successfully, dictating a new will (and 'giving it due form') and bequeathing to himself, Gianni Schicchi, a fine mare (or, as others say, a mule)—'the queen (or leader) of the herd.'
49. This dropsical spirit, if he had had his legs cut off at the groin, would have looked, with his monstrous belly and small head and neck, like a lute lying on the ground.
52. *Dispaia*, 'disproportions.'
53. *Converte*, 'digests.'

Faceva a lui tener le labbra aperte, 55
  Come l' etico fa, che per la sete
  L' un verso il mento e l' altro in su riverte.
'O voi, che senza alcuna pena siete
  E non so io perchè nel mondo gramo,'
  Diss' egli a noi, 'guardate ed attendete 60
Alla miseria del maestro Adamo!
  Io ebbi vivo assai di quel ch' io volli,
  Ed ora, lasso! un gocciol d' acqua bramo.
Li ruscelletti che dei verdi colli
  Del Casentin discendon giuso in Arno, 65
  Facendo i lor canali freddi e molli,
Sempre mi stanno innanzi, e non indarno;
  Chè l' imagine lor vie più m' asciuga
  Che il male ond' io nel volto mi discarno.
La rigida giustizia che mi fruga 70
  Tragge cagion del loco ov' io peccai
  A metter più li miei sospiri in fuga.
Ivi è Romena, là dov' io falsai
  La lega suggellata del Batista,
  Per ch' io il corpo su arso lasciai. 75
Ma s' io vedessi qui l' anima trista

57. *Riverte*, 'curls.'
59. *Gramo*, 'doleful.'
60. Cf. *V. N.*, VII, 19–20, 39–44.
61. This 'Master Adam' was a follower of the counts of Romena. In 1281 he was burned as a counterfeiter in Florence.
63. Cf. the 'rich man' in Luke xvi, 24.
65. The Casentino is a district in the mountains at the head of the Arno. Dante was there in 1289 and in 1311. The ruins of the Castle of Romena are still to be seen on a hill beside the river.
68. *Vie più*, 'far more.'
69. *Mi discarno*, 'I am withered.'
71. *Tragge* (=*trae*) *cagion*, 'takes advantage.'
74. *Lega*, 'composition,' of metal used in making the gold florin. This coin, first minted in 1253, had on one side the image of John the Baptist, the patron of Florence, on the other the lily-flower from which it was named.

Di Guido, o d' Alessandro, o di lor frate,
Per fonte Branda non darei la vista.
Dentro c' è l' una già, se l' arrabbiate
Ombre che van dintorno dicon vero; 80
Ma che mi val, c' ho le membra legate?
S' io fossi pur di tanto ancor leggiero
Ch' io potessi in cent' anni andare un' oncia,
Io sarei messo già per lo sentiero,
Cercando lui tra questa gente sconcia, 85
Con tutto ch' ella volge undici miglia
E men d' un mezzo di traverso non ci ha.
Io son per lor tra sì fatta famiglia:
Ei m' indussero a battere i fiorini
Che avevan tre carati di mondiglia.' 90
Ed io a lui: 'Chi son li due tapini
Che fumman come man bagnate il verno,
Giacendo stretti a' tuoi destri confini?'
'Qui li trovai, e poi volta non dierno,'
Rispose, 'quand' io piovvi in questo greppo, 95
E non credo che dieno in sempiterno.

77. The counts of Romena, at whose instigation he committed the crime. They were head over ears in debt. Guido died in 1292; Alessandro and two other brothers, Aghinolfo and Ildebrando, were still alive in 1300. A letter attributed to Dante consoles the sons of Aghinolfo for the death of Alessandro.

78. Fonte Branda was a fountain near the walls of Romena.

83. *Oncia*, 'inch.'

86. *Con tutto che*, 'although.' Cf. XXIX, 9.

87. Note the odd rhyme: *nòn ci ha*, *sconcia*, *oncia*. *Ci ha*, 'there is.' The valley is not less than half a mile across; it must be very much wider than some of the *bolge*, perhaps in compensation for its small circumference.

90. *Mondiglia*, 'alloy.' His florins were 21 carats fine, instead of 24.

91. *Tapini*, 'wretches.'

92. *Fumman*, 'reek': cf. VII, 123. *Verno* = *inverno*: in winter time.

93. *Confini*, 'frontier.' Dante speaks of the huge belly as if it were a province.

94. *Dierno* = *diedero*.

95. *Greppo*, 'cliff.'

L' una è la falsa che accusò Joseppo ;
  L' altro è il falso Sinon greco da Troia.
  Per febbre acuta gittan tanto leppo.'
E l' un di lor, che si recò a noia 100
  Forse d' esser nomato sì oscuro,
  Col pugno gli percosse l' epa croia.
Quella sonò come fosse un tamburo ;
  E mastro Adamo gli percosse il volto
  Col braccio suo, che non parve men duro, 105
Dicendo a lui : 'Ancor che mi sia tolto
  Lo mover, per le membra che son gravi,
  Ho io il braccio a tal mestiere sciolto.'
Ond' ei rispose : 'Quando tu andavi
  Al foco, non l' avei tu così presto ; 110
  Ma sì e più l' avei, quando coniavi.'
E l' idropico : 'Tu di' ver di questo ;
  Ma tu non fosti sì ver testimonio
  Là 've del ver a Troia fosti richiesto.'
'S' io dissi 'l falso, e tu falsasti il conio,' 115
  Disse Sinone ; 'e son qui per un fallo,

97. For the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, see Gen. xxxix, 6–20. *Joseppo* = *Giuseppe*.

98. Sinon, pretending to be a fugitive from the Greeks, persuaded the Trojans to take the wooden horse into the city: cf. *Æn.*, II, 57 ff. Priam said to him (*Æn.*, II, 148–9):

> 'Quisquis es, amissos hinc jam obliviscere Graios,
> Noster eris.'

So he is called derisively 'of Troy.'

99. *Leppo*, 'stench.'

100. *Si recò a noia*, 'took it ill.'

101. *Oscuro*, 'meanly.'

102. *Epa*, 'belly': cf. XXV, 82. *Croia*, 'vile.'

110. *Avei* = *avevi*.

112. *Di'* = *dici*.

114. Cf. *Æn.*, II, 149–52.

115. *E* is here used, as frequently, merely to introduce the conclusion: cf. XIX, 3.

E tu per più che alcun altro demonio.'
'Ricorditi, spergiuro, del cavallo,'
Rispose quel ch' avea enfiata l' epa;
'E siati reo che tutto il mondo sallo.' 120
'E te sia rea la sete onde ti crepa,'
Disse il Greco, 'la lingua, e l' acqua marcia
Che il ventre innanzi a gli occhi sì t' assiepa.'
Allora il monetier: 'Così si squarcia
La bocca tua per tuo mal come suole; 125
Chè s' i' ho sete ed umor mi rinfarcia,
Tu hai l' arsura e il capo che ti duole,
E per leccar lo specchio di Narcisso
Non vorresti a invitar molte parole.'
Ad ascoltarli er' io del tutto fisso, 130
Quando il Maestro mi disse: 'Or pur mira
Che per poco è che teco non mi risso.'
Quand' io 'l senti' a me parlar con ira,
Volsimi verso lui con tal vergogna
Ch' ancor per la memoria mi si gira. 135
E quale è quei che suo dannaggio sogna,
Che sognando desidera sognare,
Sì che quel ch' è, come non fosse, agogna,
Tal mi fec' io, non potendo parlare,
Che desiava scusarmi, e scusava 140
Me tuttavia, e nol mi credea fare.

120. *Siati reo*, 'may it be a plague to thee.'
121. *Crepa*, 'cracks'; the subject is *lingua* in l. 122.
123. *Il ventre . . . assiepa*, 'makes a hedge (barrier) of thy belly.'
124. *Monetier*, 'coiner.'
126. *Rinfarcia*, 'stuffs.'
128. 'Narcissus's glass' is water, in which he saw himself mirrored: *Met.*, III, 407 ff.
132. 'I am very near quarreling with thee.'
136. *Dannaggio* = *danno*.
138. *Agogna*, 'longs for.'
140. My dumbness was proof of my shame.

'Maggior difetto men vergogna lava,'
Disse il Maestro, 'che il tuo non è stato;
Però d' ogni tristizia ti disgrava.
E fa' ragion ch' io ti sia sempre allato, 145
Se più avvien che fortuna t' accoglia
Ove sien genti in simigliante piato;
Chè voler ciò udire è bassa voglia.'

144. *Disgrava*, 'unburden.'
145. *Fa' ragion*, 'take care.' *Allato*, 'beside.'
146. *Accoglia*, 'take.'
147. *Piato*, 'wrangle.'

CANTO XXXI

ARGUMENT

As the poets cross the broad bank that intervenes between the tenth *bolgia* and the great central pit of Hell, Dante sees looming through the dusk, like the towers of a city, the forms of giants, visible from the waist up all around the mouth of the well. As far as we can judge, they are from sixty to eighty feet in total height. But the apparently precise dimensions given are vague to us, because of the variability of standards: one creature measures from neck to middle thirty palms, probably something like twenty feet; another, five ells, perhaps some thirty feet. One of these monsters, Antæus, picks up the travellers and sets them on the ice at the bottom of the hole. Dante speaks as if he did so without quitting his post; nothing but the giant's stoop is described, as he lifts them up, and his straightening when he has put them down. We are told, however, that, unlike his mates, he is not bound. Now, inasmuch as the last *bolgia* is eleven miles in circumference, and inasmuch as the poets walk for some time over the plain of ice before seeing, in the middle of it, the enormous figure of Lucifer, we must think of this pit as at least a mile wide; and since it is described in XVIII, 5, as 'un pozzo assai largo e *profondo*,' it can hardly be less than twice as deep as it is broad. It is obvious, then, that the giants, the upper half of whose bodies appears above the edge, cannot be standing on the bottom: their feet must rest on a ledge or shelf near the top of the wall; in fact, in XXXII, 16–7, we are told that when Dante and Virgil were on the bottom of the 'pozzo scuro,' they were 'sotto i piè del gigante, e assai più bassi.' Antæus, therefore, carrying the poets, must have left his place and climbed down the precipice; but of this descent our author, for reasons of his own, says not a word. Perhaps he conceived of himself as so terrified that he could recall nothing of the adventure but its awful beginning and end. It is likely, too, that he preferred to leave a gap for the reason set forth in the argument to Canto V.

We do not know how many giants there are in all. Those named are Nimrod, Ephialtes, Briareus, and Antæus — all, except the last, damned for their presumption in attempting to scale Heaven. Ephialtes and Briareus were among the most active at Phlegra, when the giants piled mountain upon mountain, and threatened the Gods. This combat is mentioned by Ovid (*Met.*, I, 151–5), Statius

(*Thebaid*, II, 595–6), and Lucan (*Phars.*, IV, 593–7); and the two latter authorities speak of Briareus. Ephialtes is not named by any of the ancient poets that Dante seems to have known, but he is to be found in Servius's commentary on the *Georgics*, I, 180. Antæus, so Lucan tells us (*Phars.*, IV, 597), did not participate in the fight, and therefore he is unbound in Dante's Hell; in *Phars.*, IV, 593 ff., his misdeeds and his defeat by Hercules are related at length. The 'fable' of the battle of Phlegra doubtless represented to Dante merely the old pagan sages' idea of the revolt of the angels; the giants are stricken down by 'il sommo Giove,' the supreme Power. The Biblical Nimrod, then, is not out of place among them. The following particulars are culled from Gen. x, 8–10, and xi, 2–9: 'And Cush begat Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord. . . . And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, in the land of Shinar. . . . And it came to pass . . . that they found a plain in the land of Shinar; and they dwelt there. . . . And they said, Go to, let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven. . . . So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth: and they left off to build the city. Therefore is the name of it called Babel.' Nimrod, then, was held responsible for the audacious enterprise; and as early as Orosius and St. Augustine he was regarded by Christians as a giant. According to *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, I, vii, 24–31, it was 'sub persuasione gigantis' that man presumed to surpass his maker. In the confusion of tongues Dante's Nimrod has suffered more than his misguided fellows, for he speaks a language understood by no one else and can comprehend no other soul. His mind, too, is as dazed as his words are senseless. He can vent his feelings only by blowing the big horn with which, as a 'mighty hunter,' he is equipped.

The manifold crimes of the Lower Hell are due to pride and envy, and these sins are personified in Satan and the giants. Embedded in the central point of his kingdom, the arch-sinner, surrounded by a ring of fellow-rebels, holds his eternal court. The spirits that thought to rise so high are sunken at the bottom of the universe; their monstrous forms are fixed and impotent forevermore. This, rather than the Circle of Violence, is artistically their fit place; and here, no doubt, Dante would have put them, even if Virgil had not pointed the way (*Æn.*, VI, 580–1):

> 'Hic genus antiquum terræ, Titania pubes,
> Fulmine dejecti, fundo volvuntur in imo.'

For the *pozzo*, cf. G. Agnelli in *Giorn. dant.*, VIII, 546.

Una medesma lingua pria mi morse
  Sì che mi tinse l' una e l' altra guancia,
  E poi la medicina mi riporse.
Così od' io che soleva la lancia
  D' Achille e del suo padre esser cagione 5
  Prima di trista e poi di buona mancia.
Noi demmo il dosso al misero vallone
  Su per la ripa che il cinge dintorno,
  Attraversando senza alcun sermone.
Quivi era men che notte e men che giorno, 10
  Sì che il viso m' andava innanzi poco;
  Ma io senti' sonare un alto corno
Tanto ch' avrebbe ogni tuon fatto fioco,
  Che, contra sè la sua via seguitando,
  Dirizzò gli occhi miei tutti ad un loco. 15
Dopo la dolorosa rotta, quando
  Carlo Magno perdè la santa gesta,
  Non sonò sì terribilmente Orlando.
Poco portai in là volta la testa,
  Che mi parve veder molte alte torri; 20

4. Virgil's tongue has the same power as the magic spear of Achilles and his father Peleus, which could both wound and cure: *Met.*, XII, 112, XXIII, 171; *Tristia*, V, 2, 15–18; *Remedia Amoris*, 47. In Provençal and early Italian poetry there are many references to this spear; it was believed in the Middle Ages that a hurt inflicted by it could be healed only by another wound from the same weapon.

6. *Mancia*, 'gift.'

11. *Viso*, 'sight.'

13. *Fioco:* cf. I, 63.

14. It attracted my eyes to one spot, and my sight went out toward that place, following (in the opposite direction) the course of the sound that came from it. *Seguitando* goes with *occhi*.

16. At Roncesvalles Charlemagne lost his rear-guard, led by his peers (the 'blessed band') under the command of his nephew Roland. When all was lost, Roland blew his horn so loud that it was heard thirty leagues away: *Chanson de Roland*, ll. 1753–7. For the use of *gesta* as 'company,' see the early Italian *Spagna*, I, st. 35, l. 7: 'E tutta sua baronia e nobil gesta'; also II, 30, 7; XXXVI, 26, 8 ('santa gesta'); XL, 26, 4; etc.

Ond' io : 'Maestro, di', che terra è questa?'
Ed egli a me : 'Però che tu trascorri
Per le tenebre troppo dalla lungi,
Avvien che poi nel 'maginare aborri.
Tu vedrai ben, se tu là ti congiungi, 25
Quanto il senso s' inganna di lontano ;
Però alquanto più te stesso pungi.'
Poi caramente mi prese per mano,
E disse : 'Pria che noi siam più avanti,
Acciocchè il fatto men ti paia strano, 30
Sappi che non son torri, ma giganti,
E son nel pozzo intorno dalla ripa
Dall' umbilico in giuso tutti quanti.'
Come, quando la nebbia si dissipa,
Lo sguardo a poco a poco raffigura 35
Ciò che cela il vapor che l' aere stipa :
Così forando l' aura grossa e scura,
Più e più appressando in ver la sponda,
Fuggìemi errore, e cresce' mi paura.
Però che come in su la cerchia tonda 40
Montereggion di torri si corona,
Così la proda che il pozzo circonda
Torreggiavan di mezza la persona
Gli orribili giganti, cui minaccia
Giove del cielo ancora quando tuona. 45

23. *Troppo dalla lungi*, 'from too far off.'
24. *Aborri*, 'strayest': cf. XXV, 144.
36. *Stipa*, 'thickens': cf. VII, 19.
39. *Fuggìemi* = *mi fuggiva.* — *Cresce' mi* = *mi cresceva.*
41. Montereggioni, a strong castle built by the Sienese, early in the 13th century, on a hill not far from the city, was surrounded by very high walls surmounted by twelve towers.
42. *Proda*, 'bank,' is the object of *torreggiavan*, 'betowered'; the subject is *giganti*.
45. Because of their attack upon Heaven: cf. *Met.*, I, 151 ff.

Ed io scorgeva già d' alcun la faccia,
  Le spalle e il petto, e del ventre gran parte,
  E per le coste giù ambo le braccia.
Natura certo, quando lasciò l' arte
  Di sì fatti animali, assai fe' bene, 50
  Per torre tali esecutori a Marte.
E s' ella d' elefanti e di balene
  Non si pente, chi guarda sottilmente
  Più giusta e più discreta la ne tiene;
Chè dove l' argomento della mente 55
  S' aggiunge al mal volere ed alla possa,
  Nessun riparo vi può far la gente.
La faccia sua mi parea lunga e grossa
  Come la pina di san Pietro a Roma,
  Ed a sua proporzione eran l' altr' ossa; 60
Sì che la ripa, ch' era perizoma
  Dal mezzo in giù, ne mostrava ben tanto
  Di sopra che di giungere alla chioma
Tre Frison s' averian dato mal vanto;
  Però ch' io ne vedea trenta gran palmi 65
  Dal loco in giù dov' uomo affibbia il manto.

49. *Lasciò l' arte*, 'forsook the art,' i. e., ceased to produce such destructive creatures.

52. Nature continues to produce elephants and whales, but they have no intelligence and therefore are harmless. Her suppression of giants, then, shows fine discrimination.

55. *Argomento*, 'instrument.'

57. *La gente*, 'mankind.'

59. A pine cone of gilt bronze, originally perhaps 10 or 11 ft. high, which is said to have adorned the Mausoleum of Hadrian, stood in Dante's day in the fore-court of St. Peter's, and is now to be seen, somewhat mutilated, in the Vatican gardens.

61. The bank covered them — 'was an apron to them'— from the waist down. *Perizoma* is used in Gen. iii, 7: 'fecerunt sibi perizomata,' 'made themselves aprons.'

64. 'Three Frisians (standing on one another's shoulders) would have boasted in vain' that they could reach from the bank to the giant's hair. Frisians were noted for their tall stature.

66. From neck to waist.

'Rafel mai amech zabi almi,'
  Cominciò a gridar la fiera bocca,
  Cui non si convenian più dolci salmi.
E il Duca mio ver lui: 'Anima sciocca, 70
  Tienti col corno, e con quel ti disfoga,
  Quand' ira o altra passïon ti tocca.
Cercati al collo, e troverai la soga
  Che il tien legato, o anima confusa,
  E vedi lui che il gran petto ti doga.' 75
Poi disse a me: 'Egli stesso s' accusa.
  Questi è Nembrotto, per lo cui mal coto
  Pure un linguaggio nel mondo non s' usa.
Lasciamlo stare, e non parliamo a voto;
  Chè così è a lui ciascun linguaggio 80
  Come il suo ad altrui, ch' a nullo è noto.'
Facemmo adunque più lungo viaggio
  Volti a sinistra; ed al trar d' un balestro
  Trovammo l' altro assai più fiero e maggio.
A cinger lui, qual che fosse il maestro 85
  Non so io dir, ma ei tenea succinto
  Dinanzi l' altro, e dietro il braccio destro
D' una catena, che il teneva avvinto
  Dal collo in giù, sì che in su lo scoperto

67. These words have no meaning. The line is at least two syllables short.
71. 'Keep to thy horn.'
73. *Soga*, 'rope.'
74. *Il:* the horn.
75. *Lui:* the horn. *Doga*, 'curves across,' like a barrel-stave.
77. *Coto*, 'thought.'
78. *Pure*, 'only.' Cf. Gen. xi, 1: 'And the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech.'
84. *L' altro*, 'the next one.' *Maggio=maggiore:* cf. VI, 48.
85. Cf. XV, 12.
86. *Succinto*, 'bound.'
87. 'His right arm behind him, and the other in front.'
89. *Lo scoperto*, 'the uncovered part,' i. e., the part visible above the edge of the cliff. The chain coils spirally around him.

Si ravvolgeva infino al giro quinto. 90
'Questo superbo voll' esser esperto
Di sua potenza contra il sommo Giove,'
Disse il mio Duca, 'ond' egli ha cotal merto.
Fialte ha nome; e fece le gran prove,
Quando i giganti fer paura ai Dei. 95
Le braccia ch' ei menò giammai non move.'
Ed io a lui: 'S' esser puote, io vorrei
Che dello smisurato Brïareo
Esperïenza avesser gli occhi miei.'
Ond' ei rispose: 'Tu vedrai Anteo 100
Presso di qui, che parla, ed è disciolto,
Che ne porrà nel fondo d' ogni reo.
Quel che tu vuoi veder più là è molto,
Ed è legato e fatto come questo,
Salvo che più feroce par nel volto.' 105
Non fu tremoto già tanto rubesto
Che scotesse una torre così forte,
Come Fialte a scotersi fu presto.
Allor temett' io più che mai la morte,
E non v' era mestier più che la dotta, 110
S' io non avessi viste le ritorte.
Noi procedemmo più avanti allotta,
E venimmo ad Anteo, che ben cinqu' alle,

91. *Esser esperto*, 'make trial.'
93. *Merto*, 'reward.'
95. Cf. XIV, 52–8. *Fer* = *fecero*.
97. *Puote* = *può*.
98. *Thebaid*, II, 596: 'immensus Briareus.'
102. *Ogni reo*, 'all wickedness': cf. IV, 40.
104. *Fatto*, 'built.'
106. *Rubesto*, 'violent.'
110. *Dotta*, 'fright': the fright alone would have killed me.
112. *Allotta* = *allora*: cf. V, 53.
113. *Alle*, 'ells.'

Senza la testa, uscia fuor della grotta.
'O tu, che nella fortunata valle 115
Che fece Scipïon di gloria reda,
Quando Annibal co' suoi diede le spalle,
Recasti già mille leon per preda,
E che, se fossi stato all' alta guerra
De' tuoi fratelli, ancor par ch' e' si creda 120
Che avrebber vinto i figli della terra,
Mettine giù (e non ten venga schifo)
Dove Cocito la freddura serra.
Non ci far ire a Tizio nè a Tifo.
Questi può dar di quel che qui si brama; 125
Però ti china, e non torcer lo grifo.
Ancor ti può nel mondo render fama;
Ch' ei vive, e lunga vita ancor aspetta,
Se innanzi tempo grazia a sè nol chiama.'
Così disse il Maestro: e quegli in fretta 130

114. *Senza la testa*, 'without counting the head.'
115. *Fortunata*, 'fateful': cf. XXVIII, 8. In the valley of Bagrăda, near Zama, Scipio conquered Hannibal. Cf. *Conv.*, IV, v, 164–71.
116. *Reda*=*erede*.
117. *Diede le spalle*, 'turned his back.'
118. *Phars.*, IV, 601–2:

> 'Hæc illi spelunca domus; latuisse sub alta
> Rupe ferunt, epulas raptos habuisse leones.'

120. *Par ch' e' si creda*, 'it seems to be believed.' Cf. *Phars.*, IV, 596–7:

> 'Cæloque pepercit,
> Quod non Phlegræis Antæum sustulit arvis.'

122. *Non ten venga schifo*, 'disdain it not.'
123. 'Where the cold locks Cocytus': at the bottom of the well, in the 9th circle, Cocytus is frozen into a plain of ice.
124. *Phars.*, IV, 595–6:

> 'Nec tam justa fuit terrarum gloria Typhon,
> Aut Tityos, Briareusque ferox.'

126. *Non torcer lo grifo*, 'twist not thy snout.' Cf. Brunetto Latini, *Tesoretto*, XXI, 53–4:

> 'O s' hai tenuto a schifo
> La gente, e torto il grifo.'

Le man distese, e prese il Duca mio,
Ond' Ercole sentì già grande stretta.
Virgilio, quando prender si sentio,
Disse a me : 'Fatti in qua, sì ch' io ti prenda.'
Poi fece sì che un fascio er' egli ed io. 135
Qual pare a riguardar la Garisenda
Sotto il chinato, quando un nuvol vada
Sopr' essa sì che ella incontro penda,
Tal parve Anteo a me che stava a bada
Di vederlo chinare, e fu tal ora 140
Ch' io avrei volut' ir per altra strada ;
Ma lievemente al fondo che divora
Lucifero con Giuda ci sposò.
Nè sì chinato lì fece dimora,
E come albero in nave si levò. 145

132. The story of the combat between Hercules and Antæus is told in *Phars.*, IV, 609–53.—*Onde* refers to *man.*—*Stretta*, 'grip': cf. *Phars.*, IV, 617, 'conseruere manus.'

133. *Sentio=sentì:* cf. XX, 58.

134. *Fatti in qua*, 'come hither': cf. XXII, 96.

136. Bologna has two famous leaning towers. The shorter but more inclined is called Garisenda or Carisenda; it was much taller in Dante's time. In 1286 the town demolished the buildings around it.

137. *Il chinato*, 'the slant.' To an observer standing beneath the overhang, and looking upward, a cloud passing over the tower, in the direction opposite to its slope, makes the structure seem to be falling. Dante, in all probability, observed this phenomenon himself when he was in Bologna.

139. *A bada*, 'on the watch.'

143. *Sposò*, 'set down,' on the 'bottom that swallows up Lucifer and Judas,' the 9th circle.

145. He rose like a mast that is being hoisted into its step on a ship.

CANTO XXXII

ARGUMENT

The hardest, coldest heart is that of the traitor; from it all the warmth of human affection has been banished. The symbol of treachery is ice; and at the bottom of the well, buried in the circular plain formed by the freezing of Cocytus, are the sinners of the ninth and last circle. In the middle of the plain, at the centre of the earth, is Lucifer or Satan, called Dis by the ancients. Ice is used as a means of punishment in other visions of Hell, and in the *Visio Alberici* we find a graded immersion in ice; but nowhere else has it the significance that our poem gives it. Dante's traitors have no desire to be remembered on earth: the best they can hope is to be forgotten. Their evil disposition is unchanged, and even in Hell they are eager to betray one another. The cold, cruel spirit that pervades their congregation communicates itself to the beholder; the mere thought of their odious crimes arouses an instinct of vindictiveness. Scorn and hatred possess Dante as he contemplates them, and he feels impelled to pay them in their own coin.

The traitors fall into four divisions, according to the relation between themselves and their victims. They are arranged in the round plain in four concentric circles; taking them in order, from circumference to middle, these rings are called *Caìna*, *Antenora*, *Tolomèa* ('Ptolemea'), *Giudecca* ('Judecca'). They are distinguished only by the position of the sinners in the ice: in the first three, the souls are embedded up to their heads; in the last, Giudecca, they are entirely covered. In Caina, the heads are bowed down; in Antenora they are apparently erect; in Tolomea they are thrown back. Caina contains traitors to kindred, Antenora traitors to country or party, Tolomea traitors to guests, Giudecca traitors to benefactors. In all cases the treachery involves murder. Caina and Giudecca are named respectively for Cain and Judas. Antenora derives its title from the Trojan Antēnor, who bears an excellent character in the *Iliad;* in the later narratives, however, ascribed to Dares and Dictys, and regarded in the Middle Ages as an authentic account, he figures as the arch-traitor who hands over the Palladium to the Greeks (cf. Servius's commentary on *Æn.*, I, 242). Tolomea is so called after the Ptolemy of I Macc. xvi, 11–6, a captain of Jericho, who murdered his father-in-law and two brothers-in-law at a banquet to which he had invited them.

S' io avessi le rime aspre e chiocce,
  Come si converrebbe al tristo buco
  Sopra il qual pontan tutte l' altre rocce,
Io premerei di mio concetto il suco
  Più pienamente; ma perch' io non l' abbo, 5
  Non senza tema a dicer mi conduco.
Chè non è impresa da pigliare a gabbo
  Descriver fondo a tutto l' universo,
  Nè da lingua che chiami mamma e babbo.
Ma quelle Donne aiutino il mio verso 10
  Ch' aiutaro Amfion a chiuder Tebe,
  Sì che dal fatto il dir non sia diverso.
O sopra tutte mal creata plebe,
  Che stai nel loco onde parlare è duro,
  Me' foste state qui pecore o zebe. 15
Come noi fummo giù nel pozzo scuro
  Sotto i piè del gigante, assai più bassi,
  Ed io mirava ancora all' alto muro,
Dicere udimmi: 'Guarda come passi!
  Va' sì che tu non calchi con le piante 20
  Le teste de' fratei miseri lassi.'
Per ch' io mi volsi, e vidimi davante
  E sotto i piedi un lago, che per gelo

1. *Chiocce*, 'clucking.' Cf. VII, 2.
3. *Pontan*, 'thrust.'
5. *L' abbo* = *le ho*.
9. Nor one fit for a childish tongue. An example of rhetorical understatement, or litotes: cf. D' Ovidio, 514–9.
10. *Donne:* the Muses, thanks to whom Amphion's lyre charmed the rocks to move and form the walls of Thebes. Cf. Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 394 ff.; *Thebaid*, X, 873 ff.
15. *Me'* = *meglio:* cf. XIV, 36. *Zebe*, 'goats.'
16. *Pozzo:* in the *Visio Alberici*, IX, the mouth of the pit 'similis videbatur puteo.' See the argument at the head of the preceding canto.
19. *Udimmi* = *mi udii*. The two brothers who thus address Dante from the ice are, as we learn presently, the counts of Mangona.

Avea di vetro e non d' acqua sembiante.
Non fece al corso suo sì grosso velo 25
D' inverno la Danoia in Osteric,
Nè Tanaï là sotto il freddo cielo,
Com' era quivi; chè, se Tambernic
Vi fosse su caduto, o Pietrapana,
Non avria pur dall' orlo fatto cric. 30
E come a gracidar si sta la rana
Col muso fuor dell' acqua, quando sogna
Di spigolar sovente la villana,
Livide insin là dove appar vergogna
Eran l' ombre dolenti nella ghiaccia, 35
Mettendo i denti in nota di cicogna.
Ognuna in giù tenea volta la faccia.
Da bocca il freddo, e dagli occhi il cor tristo
Tra lor testimonianza si procaccia.
Quand' io ebbi d' intorno alquanto visto, 40
Volsimi a' piedi, e vidi due sì stretti
Che il pel del capo avieno insieme misto.
'Ditemi voi, che sì stringete i petti,'
Diss' io, 'chi siete.' E quei piegaro i colli;

26. The Danube in Austria. *Osteric* and *Osterlic* were used in early Italian.
27. The Tanäis, or Don.
28. *Tambernic* (or *Tamberlic* or *Taberlic*) is an unidentified mountain.
29. *Pietrapana*, now called Pania della Croce, is a rocky mountain in the Tuscan Apennines.
30. *Cric* is a word made to imitate the sound.
33. In the summer, the season when the country woman is apt to dream of gleaning.
34. As far as their faces: shame manifests itself by a blush.
36. Their teeth chatter like a stork's bill. Cf. *Met.*, VI, 97: 'Ipsa sibi plaudat crepitante ciconia rostro.' Also Hugh of St. Victor, *De Bestiis*, I, 42: 'Ciconiæ sonum oris pro voce quatiente rostro faciunt.' And Brunetto Latini, *Trésor*, I, v, 161 (see Tor.).
38. *Freddo* and *cor* are subjects of *procaccia*, of which *testimonianza* is the object. The chattering teeth bear witness to the cold; the weeping eyes, to the sadness of the heart.
42. *Avieno* = *avevano*.

E poi ch' ebber li visi a me eretti, 45
Gli occhi lor, ch' eran pria pur dentro molli,
Gocciar su per le labbra, e il gielo strinse
Le lagrime tra essi, e riserrolli.
Con legno legno mai spranga non cinse
Forte così; ond' ei, come due becchi, 50
Cozzaro insieme, tant' ira li vinse.
Ed un ch' avea perduti ambo gli orecchi
Per la freddura, pur col viso in giue
Disse: 'Perchè cotanto in noi ti specchi?
Se vuoi saper chi son cotesti due, 55
La valle onde Bisenzio si dichina
Del padre loro Alberto e di lor fue.
D' un corpo usciro; e tutta la Caïna
Potrai cercare, e non troverai ombra
Degna più d' esser fitta in gelatina: 60
Non quelli a cui fu rotto il petto e l' ombra
Con esso un colpo per la man d' Artù;
Non Focaccia; non questi che m' ingombra
Col capo sì ch' io non veggio oltre più,
E fu nomato Sassol Mascheroni — 65

46. Their eyes until now 'were wet only within' because they were frozen over on the outside. A new flood of tears bursts the icy coat for a moment.
48. *Essi:* the eyes. *Riserrol i,* 'locked them up again.'
49. 'Clamp never fastened wood to wood.'
56. The Bisenzio is a little stream that runs near Prato and empties into the Arno.
57. Alberto, count of Mangona. Two of his sons, Napoleone and Alessandro, quarrelled over their inheritance and killed each other.
61. Mordrec, or Mordred, the treacherous nephew of King Arthur, was pierced by such a blow from Arthur's spear that, when the weapon was pulled out, a ray of sunlight traversed his body. The story is told in the Old French *Lancelot du lac.*
62. *Con esso=con:* cf. XXIII, 54.
63. Foccaccia de' Cancellieri, of the White party of Pistoia, lay in wait, with other ruffians, for one of his relatives, Detto de' Cancellieri, a Black, and killed him in a tailor's shop.
65. Sassol Mascheroni is known to us only through an early commentator, who says he murdered a nephew to secure his inheritance.

Se Tosco se', ben sa' omai chi fu.
E perchè non mi metti in più sermoni,
Sappi ch' io fui il Camicion de' Pazzi,
Ed aspetto Carlin che mi scagioni.'
Poscia vid' io mille visi, cagnazzi 70
Fatti per freddo: onde mi vien riprezzo,
E verrà sempre, de' gelati guazzi.
E mentre che andavamo in ver lo mezzo,
Al quale ogni gravezza si raduna,
Ed io tremava nell' eterno rezzo, 75
Se voler fu o destino o fortuna
Nôn so; ma passeggiando tra le teste,
Forte percossi il piè nel viso ad una.
Piangendo mi sgridò: 'Perchè mi peste?
Se tu non vieni a crescer la vendetta 80
Di Mont' Aperti, perchè mi moleste?'
Ed io: 'Maestro mio, or qui m' aspetta,
Sì ch' io esca d' un dubbio per costui;
Poi mi farai, quantunque vorrai, fretta.'

67. *Metti = metta.* — *In più sermoni*, 'to more speech': cf. XIII, 21.
68. Of Camicion de' Pazzi nothing certain is known. He is said to have treacherously slain a kinsman named Ubertino.
69. *Scagioni*, 'exculpate,' i. e., make me seem innocent in comparison with himself. Carlino de' Pazzi is still alive and has not yet committed his great crime. It was in June, 1302, that he was bribed to surrender to the Florentine Blacks the castle of Piantravigne, containing a number of the foremost White and Ghibelline exiles, many of whom were slain. When he dies, he will come to the second division of the 9th circle, Antenora, reserved for betrayers of their country or party.
70. *Cagnazzi*, 'doglike,' their lips drawn by the cold. The sight is so horrible that Dante ever afterwards will shudder at the sight of frozen pools.
74. *Si raduna*, 'collects.' Cf. XXXIV, 110–1.
75. *Rezzo*, 'chill.'
81. The mention of Montaperti arouses Dante's suspicions. This was the disastrous defeat of the Florentine Guelfs in 1260 by the Sienese Ghibellines and their German allies. The rout was attributed to the traitor Bocca degli Abati, who, in the thick of a charge, cut off the hand of the standard-bearer to the Florentine cavalry. In 1266, when the Guelfs returned to power, he was banished.

Lo Duca stette; ed io dissi a colui 85
Che bestemmiava duramente ancora:
'Qual se' tu, che così rampogni altrui?'
'Or tu chi se', che vai per l' Antenora
Percotendo,' rispose, 'altrui le gote
Sì che, se fossi vivo, troppo fora?' 90
'Vivo son io, e caro esser ti puote,'
Fu mia risposta, 'se domandi fama,
Ch' io metta il nome tuo tra l' altre note.'
Ed egli a me: 'Del contrario ho io brama.
Levati quinci, e non mi dar più lagna! 95
Chè mal sai lusingar per questa lama.'
Allor lo presi per la cuticagna,
E dissi: 'E' converrà che tu ti nomi
O che capel qui su non ti rimagna.'
Ond' egli a me: 'Perchè tu mi dischiomi, 100
Nè ti dirò ch' io sia, nè mostrerolti,
Se mille fiate in sul capo mi tomi.'
Io avea già i capelli in mano avvolti
E tratti glien' avea più d' una ciocca,
Latrando lui con gli occhi in giù raccolti, 105
Quando un altro gridò: 'Che hai tu, Bocca?
Non ti basta sonar con le mascelle,
Se tu non latri? Qual diavol ti tocca?'
'Omai,' diss' io, 'non vo' che tu favelle,

90. *Se fossi vivo*, 'even wert thou a living man.'
91. *Puote = può.*
95. *Lagna*, 'vexation.'
96. *Lama*, 'lowland': cf. XX, 79.
97. *Cuticagna*, 'scalp.'
100. *Perchè*, 'though.' *Dischiomi*, 'strip me bald.'
101. *Mostrerolti = te lo mostrerò.*
102. *Tomi*, 'fallest.'
105. *Raccolti*, 'bent.'
107. *Sonar*, 'clatter': is it not enough for thy teeth to be chattering?
109. *Vo' = voglio.*

Malvagio traditor, chè alla tua onta 110
Io porterò di te vere novelle.'
'Va' via,' rispose, 'e ciò che tu vuoi, conta;
Ma non tacer, se tu di qua entr' eschi,
Di quei ch' ebbe or così la lingua pronta.
Ei piange qui l' argento de' Franceschi. 115
"Io vidi," potrai dir, "quel da Düera
Là dove i peccatori stanno freschi."
Se fossi domandato altri chi v' era,
Tu hai da lato quel di Beccheria,
Di cui segò Fiorenza la gorgiera. 120
Gianni de' Soldanier credo che sia
Più là con Ganellone e Tebaldello,
Ch' aprì Faenza quando si dormia.'
Noi eravam partiti già da ello,
Ch' io vidi due ghiacciati in una buca 125
Sì che l' un capo all' altro era cappello.

110. *Alla tua onta*, 'in spite of thee.'
113. *Eschi=esca:* formula of adjuration: cf. X, 82.
116. Buoso da Duera of Cremona, notorious for his faithlessness, was distrusted by friends and enemies. In 1265, being bribed by the French, he allowed the army of Charles of Anjou, on its way to the conquest of Naples, to pass by the Ghibelline forces that had been detailed to oppose it. He was accused also of appropriating money sent by Manfred to pay his soldiers.
117. *Stanno freschi*, 'are in the cool.' This is supposed to be the origin of the current phrase, *star fresco*.
118. 'Shouldst thou be asked who else was there.'
119. Tesauro di Beccheria of Pavia, abbot of Vallombrosa, was tortured and beheaded by the Guelfs of Florence for conducting secret negotiations with the Ghibelline exiles.
120. *Segò . . . la gorgiera*, 'sawed the gorget,' i. e., cut the throat.
121. *Gianni de' Soldanier* was a Ghibelline, who, after the defeat of his party in 1266, headed a mob against his former associates.
122. Ganelon is the famous traitor to Charlemagne, in the *Chanson de Roland;* it was he who brought about the destruction of the rear-guard at Roncesvalles and the death of Roland: cf. XXXI, 16–8. — The Ghibelline Tebaldello, a bastard of the Zambrasi family, surrendered to the Bolognese Guelfs his own city of Faenza in order to avenge himself on some Ghibellines from Bolgona who had taken refuge there.
126. Two more political traitors (see D' Ovidio, 14–26) are frozen in one

E come il pan per fame si manduca,
Così il sopran li denti all' altro pose
Là 've il cervel s' aggiunge con la nuca.
Non altrimenti Tideo si rose 130
Le tempie a Menalippo per disdegno,
Che quei faceva il teschio e l' altre cose.
'O tu che mostri per sì bestial segno
Odio sopra colui che tu ti mangi,
Dimmi il perchè,' diss' io, 'per tal convegno 135
Che, se tu a ragion di lui ti piangi,
Sappiendo chi voi siete e la sua pecca,
Nel mondo suso ancor io te ne cangi,
Se quella con ch' io parlo non si secca.'

hole in such a way that the head of one lies upon the head of the other like a hat.

130. Tydeus, one of the seven kings who attacked Thebes, was mortally wounded by Menalippus, whom he succeeded in killing. Before dying, he called for the head of his opponent, and, when it was brought him by Capaneus, gnawed it fiercely. Cf. *Thebaid*, VIII, 736 ff.

135. *Per tal convegno*, 'on condition.'

137. *Pecca*, 'sin.'

138. *Cangi*, 'repay.'

139. *Quella:* my tongue.

CANTO XXXIII

ARGUMENT

In this canto occurs an episode second only to that of Francesca da Rimini in its appeal to popular sympathy. It is in Antenora that Dante hears from Count Ugolino the frightful story of his death. Here, as in the case of the 'injured souls' of Francesca and her lover, the poet is stirred to the depths by the wrong done on earth to the lost sinner. Francesca's fate moves him to an agony of pity not unmixed with indignation; that of Ugolino and his children kindles in him even more wrath than compassion. In the two narratives we find the same exclusion of all detail that might blur the one overwhelming impression to be produced upon the reader; in both, the same concentration on that part of the experience to which no human heart can be indifferent. As Francesca's guilty love follows her to Hell and binds her forever to the partner of her sin, so Ugolino is coupled to the object of his just hate, on whom he wreaks eternal vengeance.

Ugolino della Gherardesca, count of Donoratico, belonged to an old and powerful family and held vast estates in western Tuscany. Inasmuch as he was vicar, in Sardinia, of King Enzo (son of Frederick II) and married his eldest son to Enzo's daughter, he must have been originally of the Imperial faction; but as early as 1275 he for some reason allied himself to the Tuscan Guelfs against Pisa, which was then Ghibelline. It was doubtless for this political treason that Dante condemned him to Antenora. His party was successful, and he secured readmission to the city. In fact, after 1284 he governed Pisa for the Guelfs, at first alone, later in company with his grandson, Nino Visconti, who appears in *Purg*. VIII, 53. But the Pisan Ghibellines, led by the turbulent and intriguing Archbishop Ruggieri degli Ubaldini, — who in 1288 plotted to surrender his city to the Genoese, and then broke faith with them, — revolted in that same year against the Guelf control. Ugolino was absent at the time, and Nino was driven from the town. In June Ugolino was invited to confer with the Ghibelline leaders. He returned to Pisa and held parley with the archbishop. Suddenly an alarm was given, and the Ghibellines, with a frenzied mob led by Ruggieri, attacked their opponents, whom they finally besieged in the city hall and, after severe fighting, captured. Ugolino was incarcerated with two of his sons, Gaddo and Uguccione, and two grandsons,

Ugolino or Nino (called 'il Brigata') and Anselmuccio, the children of Guelfo, his firstborn. After some months the door of their jail was nailed up, and they were left to starve. When their bodies were taken out, several days after their death, they were found to be badly rat-bitten; and a couple of old chroniclers declare that the unfortunate prisoners had eaten one another's flesh, or, more specifically, their hands and arms. It was perhaps a desire to explain the mutilation in a more fitting way that led Dante to conceive of Ugolino, in his intolerable anguish, as gnawing his own hands. Nevertheless some modern commentators have imagined that Dante intended, in the last verse of Ugolino's speech, to imply that the bereaved father was driven to cannibalism.

Treachery to a traitor was thought to be not only permissible, but meritorious; and this belief is illustrated by Dante's treatment of one of the wretches in Tolomea. To be rude to him, he avers, was the part of true courtesy. In this division of the ninth circle are those who assassinated their own guests. Such betrayal as this severs all social bonds and puts the betrayer outside the pale of humanity. Dante expresses this idea allegorically by a startling device, which at the same time enables him to place in his lower world two or three heinous offenders still alive in 1300. As soon as this crime is committed, — so we are informed, — the sinner's soul descends to Hell, leaving the body, which, however, seems to remain alive, being occupied by a devil during the remainder of its natural term of existence. Thus it is written of Judas, at the Last Supper: 'after the sop Satan entered into him' (John xiii, 27). In Ps. lv, 15, it is said of treacherous friends, 'let them descend quick [i. e., alive] into hell.'

For a masterly discussion of this canto, see D' Ovidio [2], 3; see also F. De Sanctis, *L' Ugolino di Dante* in his *Nuovi saggi critici*, 1893 (6th ed.). For trustworthy information about Ugolino, whose story has been much garbled, see Tor. For the attitude of Dante's contemporaries toward treachery to a traitor, see Tor., note to l. 150. For tales of bodies possessed by demons, see A. Graf, *Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio evo*, II, 99; also Cæsarius Heisterbacensis, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, XII, 4.

La bocca sollevò dal fiero pasto
  Quel peccator, forbendola ai capelli
  Del capo ch' egli avea diretro guasto.
Poi cominciò : 'Tu vuoi ch' io rinnovelli
  Disperato dolor che il cor mi preme 5

4. Cf. *Æn.*, II, 3: 'Infandum, Regina, jubes renovare dolorem.'

Già pur pensando, pria ch' io ne favelli.
Ma se le mie parole esser den seme
Che frutti infamia al traditor ch' io rodo,
Parlare e lagrimar vedrai insieme.
I' non so chi tu sei, nè per che modo 10
Venuto se' quaggiù; ma Fiorentino
Mi sembri veramente quand' io t' odo.
Tu dei saper ch' io fui Conte Ugolino,
E questi l' Arcivescovo Ruggieri.
Or ti dirò perch' io son tal vicino. 15
Che per l' effetto de' suo' ma' pensieri,
Fidandomi di lui, io fossi preso
E poscia morto, dir non è mestieri.
Però quel che non puoi avere inteso,
Ciò è come la morte mia fu cruda, 20
Udirai, e saprai se m' ha offeso.
Breve pertugio dentro dalla muda
La qual per me ha il titol della fame,
E in che conviene ancor ch' altri si chiuda,
M' avea mostrato per lo suo forame 25
Più lune già, quand io feci il mal sonno

7. *Den*=*devono.*
9. Cf. V, 126.
13. *Dei*=*devi.*
16. *Ma'*=*mali*, 'evil.'
21. *Offeso*, 'wronged': cf. V, 102, 109.
22. *Muda*, 'mew': a loft where birds are kept while they moult. Ugolino gives this name to the tower of the Gualandi da Sette Vie, where he was confined. After his death it was called 'la torre della fame.'
24. It was not until 1318 that the municipal authorities decided to discontinue the use of this prison, which was described as foul-smelling, devoid of conveniences, and very small.
26. Several moons had appeared through the cleft of the little slit that served as a window: i. e., several months had passed — from July 20, or thereabouts, to the beginning of February, 1288–9. Just before dawn of the day when the door is to be nailed up, Ugolino has an allegorical dream; from ll. 38–9 we learn that his companions have ominous dreams, but of a more literal character.

Che del futuro mi squarciò il velame.
Questi pareva a me maestro e donno,
Cacciando il lupo e i lupicini al monte
Per che i Pisan veder Lucca non ponno, 30
Con cagne magre, studïose e conte;
Gualandi con Sismondi e con Lanfranchi
S' avea messi dinanzi dalla fronte.
In picciol corso mi pareano stanchi
Lo padre e i figli, e con l' acute scane 35
Mi parea lor veder fender li fianchi.
Quando fui desto innanzi la dimane,
Pianger senti' fra il sonno i miei figliuoli
Ch' eran con meco, e domandar del pane.
Ben se' crudel, se tu già non ti duoli, 40
Pensando ciò ch' il mio cor s' annunziava!
E se non piangi, di che pianger suoli?
Già eran desti, e l' ora s' appressava
Che il cibo ne soleva essere addotto,
E per suo sogno ciascun dubitava: 45
Ed io sentii chiavar l' uscio di sotto
All' orribile torre; ond' io guardai
Nel viso a' miei figliuoi senza far motto.
Io non piangeva; sì dentro impietrai:
Piangevan elli; ed Anselmuccio mio 50

28. *Questi:* Ruggieri. *Donno,* 'lord': master of the hunt.
30. The mountain which prevents the Pisans from seeing Lucca is San Giuliano.
31. The 'thin, eager, trained hounds' evidently represent the furious Pisan mob.
32. The leaders of the Pisan Ghibellines; in the dream they figure as huntsmen.
35. *Scane,* 'fangs.'
46. *Chiavar,* 'nail': cf. *Purg.* VIII, 137; *Par.* XIX, 105.
49. *Impietrai,* 'I turned to stone.'
50. *Anselmuccio:* the younger of the two grandchildren.

Disse: "Tu guardi sì, padre! Che hai?"
Per ciò non lagrimai, nè rispos' io
Tutto quel giorno, nè la notte appresso,
Infin che l' altro sol nel mondo uscìo.
Come un poco di raggio si fu messo 55
Nel doloroso carcere, ed io scorsi
Per quattro visi il mio aspetto stesso,
Ambo le mani per dolor mi morsi.
Ed ei, pensando ch' io 'l fessi per voglia
Di manicar, di subito levorsi, 60
E disser: "Padre, assai ci fia men doglia
Se tu mangi di noi: tu ne vestisti
Queste misere carni, e tu le spoglia."
Queta' mi allor per non farli più tristi.
Quel dì e l' altro stemmo tutti muti. 65
Ahi dura terra, perchè non t' apristi?
Poscia che fummo al quarto dì venuti,
Gaddo mi si gittò disteso a' piedi,
Dicendo: "Padre mio, chè non m' aiuti?"
Quivi morì; e come tu mi vedi, 70
Vid' io cascar li tre ad uno ad uno
Tra il quinto dì e il sesto: ond' io mi diedi
Già cieco a brancolar sopra ciascuno,
E due dì li chiamai poi che fur morti.
Poscia, più che il dolor, potè il digiuno.' 75
Quand' ebbe detto ciò, con gli occhi torti
Riprese il teschio misero coi denti,
Che furo all' osso, come d' un can, forti.
Ahi Pisa, vituperio delle genti

59. *Fessi*=*facessi.*
60. *Manicar*=*mangiare*: cf. *Vulg. El.*, I, xiii, 19.—*Levorsi*=*si levarono.*
75. Hunger did more than grief could do: it caused my death. Cf. D' Ovidio[3], 63.

Del bel paese là dove il *sì* suona, 80
Poi che i vicini a te punir son lenti,
Movansi la Caprara e la Gorgona
E faccian siepe ad Arno in su la foce,
Sì ch' egli anneghi in te ogni persona.
Chè se il Conte Ugolino aveva voce 85
D' aver tradita te delle castella,
Non dovei tu i figliuoi porre a tal croce.
Innocenti facea l' età novella —
Novella Tebe! Uguccione e il Brigata
E gli altri due che il canto suso appella. 90
Noi passamm' oltre, là 've la gelata
Ruvidamente un' altra gente fascia,
Non volta in giù, ma tutta riversata.
Lo pianto stesso lì pianger non lascia,
E il duol, che trova in sugli occhi rintoppo, 95
Si volve in entro a far crescer l' ambascia;

80. Dante, like some others, classified the languages of Europe according to the word for 'yes,' Italian being the language of *sì*: cf. *Vulg. El.*, I, 53–7. Provençal was called the *langue d'oc.*

81. *I vicini:* Lucca and Florence, which waged bitter war against Pisa.

82. Two small islands in the sea not far from the mouth of the Arno, beside which Pisa lies. Dante calls upon these islets to move up and dam the stream at its outlet.

85. *Aveva voce*, 'was reported.' The archbishop represented to the Pisans that Ugolino, in 1285, had betrayed them in the matter of five strongholds which he had allowed Lucca and Florence to occupy. In reality the cession of these castles was a necessary piece of diplomacy.

87. *Dovei*=*dovevi.*

88. The subject of *facea* is *età* ('their youthful age'); the objects are *Uguccione*, *Brigata*, and *gli altri due* (Anselmuccio and Gaddo). Gaddo and Uguccione were Ugolino's sons, Brigata and Anselmuccio his grandsons. Gaddo and Brigata were in reality of mature age.

89. Thebes being the wickedest city of the ancients, Dante calls Pisa 'modern Thebes.' The repetition of *novella* must be intentional; it accentuates the contrast between the innocence of youth and the hoary iniquity of Pisa.

91. *Gelata*, 'ice.'

93. Not turned face downward, like those in Caina, but all upturned.

95. *Rintoppo*, 'hindrance.'

96. *Ambascia*, 'anguish.'

Chè le lagrime prime fanno groppo,
  E, sì come visiere di cristallo,
  Riempion sotto il ciglio tutto il coppo.
Ed avvegna che, sì come d' un callo, 100
  Per la freddura ciascun sentimento
  Cessato avesse del mio viso stallo,
Già mi parea sentire alquanto vento;
  Per ch' io: 'Maestro mio, questo chi move?
  Non è quaggiù ogni vapore spento?' 105
Ond' egli a me: 'Avaccio sarai dove
  Di ciò ti farà l' occhio la risposta,
  Veggendo la cagion che il fiato piove.'
Ed un de' tristi della fredda crosta
  Gridò a noi: 'O anime crudeli 110
  Tanto che data v' è l' ultima posta,
Levatemi dal viso i duri veli,
  Sì ch' io sfoghi il dolor che il cor m' impregna,
  Un poco, pria che il pianto si raggeli.'
Per ch' io a lui: 'Se vuoi ch' io ti sovvegna, 115
  Dimmi chi sei, e s' io non ti disbrigo,
  Al fondo della ghiaccia ir mi convegna.'
Rispose adunque: 'Io son Frate Alberigo,

97. *Groppo*, 'knot,' i. e., a solid block of ice.
99. *Coppo*, 'cup.'
100. *Avvegna che*, 'although.' *D' un* = *da un*.
102. *Cessato . . . stallo*, 'ended its stay,' i. e., departed. — *Del* = *dal*.
105. Wind is a 'dry vapor': cf. *Conv.*, I, iv, 36.
106. *Avaccio*, 'quickly.'
108. *Che il fiato piove*, 'which rains down (produces) the blast.'
111. This spirit thinks that Dante and Virgil must be going to Giudecca.
113. *Impregna*, 'swells.'
116. *Disbrigo*, 'rid.'
117. This oath seems to be uttered with false intent, as Dante's way lies, in any case, through 'the bottom of the ice.'
118. Alberigo de' Manfredi of Faenza, a *frate gaudente*, had two of his family murdered at a dinner, in his presence, in 1285. He gave the signal to the assassins by calling: 'Vengano le frutta!'

Io son quel delle frutta del mal orto,
Che qui riprendo dattero per figo.' 120
'O,' diss' io lui: 'Or sei tu ancor morto?'
Ed egli a me: 'Come il mio corpo stea
Nel mondo su, nulla scïenza porto.
Cotal vantaggio ha questa Tolomea
Che spesse volte l' anima ci cade 125
Innanzi ch' Atropòs mossa le dea.
E perchè tu più volentier mi rade
Le invetrïate lagrime dal volto,
Sappi che tosto che l' anima trade,
Come fec' io, il corpo suo l' è tolto 130
Da un demonio, che poscia il governa
Mentre che il tempo suo tutto sia volto.
Ella ruïna in sì fatta cisterna.
E forse pare ancor lo corpo suso
Dell' ombra che di qua retro mi verna. 135
Tu il dei saper, se tu vien pur mo giuso:
Egli è Ser Branca d' Oria, e son più anni
Poscia passati ch' ei fu sì racchiuso.'
'Io credo,' diss' io lui, 'che tu m' inganni;

120. *Riprendo dattero per figo*, 'am being repaid with interest,' a date being worth more than a fig.
121. *Ancor* = *già*.
122. *Stea* = *stia*.
126. 'Before Atrŏpos (the Fate who cuts the thread of life) gives it a start.' *Dea* = *dia*.
127. *Rade* = *rada*.
134. *Suso*: on earth.
135. *Verna*, 'is wintering.'
136. *Dei* = *devi*. *Pur mo*, 'only now.'
137. Branca d' Oria, of the famous Genoese family of Doria, was a rich and powerful noble of Genoa, who had great estates in Liguria, Corsica, and Sardinia. Apparently he lived until 1325. Aided by a relative not known to us by name, he murdered, probably in 1275, his father-in-law Michel Zanche, the Sardinian barrator whom we met in 'the sticky pitch' of the 8th ditch of Malebolge (XXII, 88).

Chè Branca d' Oria non morì unquanche, 140
E mangia e bee e dorme e veste panni.'
'Nel fosso su,' diss' ei, 'di Malebranche,
Là dove bolle la tenace pece,
Non era giunto ancora Michel Zanche,
Che questi lasciò un diavolo in sua vece 145
Nel corpo suo, ed un suo prossimano
Che il tradimento insieme con lui fece.
Ma distendi oramai in qua la mano,
Aprimi gli occhi.' Ed io non glieli apersi,
E cortesia fu in lui esser villano. 150
Ahi Genovesi, uomini diversi
D' ogni costume, e pien d' ogni magagna,
Perchè non siete voi del mondo spersi?
Chè col peggiore spirto di Romagna
Trovai di voi un tal che per sua opra 155
In anima in Cocito già si bagna
Ed in corpo par vivo ancor di sopra.

140. *Unquanche*, 'as yet.'
145. Branca's soul, leaving a devil in its stead, reached this ninth circle as soon as the murdered man's soul reached the 8th.
146. *Ed un suo prossimano*, 'and so did a relative of his.'
150. 'And it was courtesy to be rude to him.'
152. *Diversi d' ogni costume*, 'strange to all morality.' *Magagna*, 'corruption.'
153. *Spersi*=*dispersi*.
154. Alberigo de' Manfredi.
155. Branca d' Oria.

CANTO XXXIV

ARGUMENT

The souls in the fourth division of the last circle are entirely covered by the frozen lake, through which they are seen like bits of straw blown into glass. They lie pell-mell in the ice, some curled up, some horizontal, some vertical — these last with head or feet upward, as they chanced to fall. Three sinners only — the worst of all humankind — have a different and more awful fate: they are crunched by the three mouths of Satan himself. Judas sold Christ, the founder of the Church; Brutus and Cassius betrayed Cæsar, the founder of the Empire. Church and Empire being co-ordinate powers, divinely established for the spiritual and temporal government of men, their founders were both sacred. But inasmuch as the spiritual kingdom is holier than the temporal, and inasmuch as Jesus was not only man but God, treason to Christ is wickeder than treason to the merely human Cæsar. Judas, then, is more tortured than his two companions; his back is rent by Satan's claws, and his head is inside the demon's mouth, while his legs, like those of the Simonists, dangle outside. He is chewed by the red face of Love of Evil, whereas Brutus and Cassius, head downward, hang respectively from the black face of Ignorance and the sallow face of Impotence.

In this Giudecca, the home of betrayers of their benefactors, the central figure is the arch-traitor and arch-ingrate, Lucifer. Here he fell when he was cast headlong from Heaven, and here he will remain, huge, hideous, and impassive, through all eternity. 'How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! how art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations! For thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend to heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God: I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north: I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the Most High. Yet thou shalt be brought down to hell, to the sides of the pit' (Isaiah xiv, 12–15). Christian interpretation applied these verses not only to an earthly ruler, but to a fallen angel as well. They naturally linked themselves to Luke x, 18: 'And he said unto them, I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven'; and to Rev. xii, 7–9: 'And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels, and prevailed not;

neither was their place found any more in heaven. And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him.' Taken together, these passages corroborate the ancient tradition of the revolt and fall of the angels (cf. the note to III, 7), and at the same time furnish ground for an identification of Lucifer with Satan, the Devil, the Serpent, and the Dragon. As we shall see from l. 127, Dante regarded Beelzebub as still another name for the same demon.

In spite of the abundance of realistic detail that makes us share with Dante the experiences of this canto, we must consider his portrayal of Satan as essentially allegorical. His Devil is the image of sin, the principle of evil, the negative counterpart of God, who is the principle of good. As the Godhead is composed of three persons, — Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, representing the three attributes, Power, Wisdom, and Love, — so Lucifer is pictured three-faced: his red visage betokens Love of Evil, or Hate; the black face is the emblem of Ignorance, the opposite of Wisdom and the source of pride; the pale yellow one signifies Impotence, the opposite of Power and the begetter of envy. Just as the Holy Ghost, or Love, is continually engendered by Father and Son, so, in Satan, Hate is the result of ignorant Pride and impotent Envy. Dante's Lucifer, though less grotesque and fantastic than the usual diabolical monster of vision literature, is ugly beyond description. Like the four beasts surrounding God's throne in Rev. iv, 8, and like the seraphim of Isaiah vi, 2, he has six wings; a pair of them sprouts beneath each face, and the three winds produced by their flapping freeze Cocytus. Immovable and helpless in the ice of his own making, he holds sway over his 'doloroso regno' — so it would seem — by these winds alone. They are the Satanic instigations, the inspiration of sin. Presumably they correspond to the three great divisions of Hell, the 'tre disposizioni che il ciel non vuole' of XI, 81–3. From the wings of Love of Evil issues the blast of Fraud or Malice; from the wings of Ignorance, the blast of Violence or Bestiality; from the wings of Impotence, the wind of Incontinence or weakness to resist the passions.

Having explored all the manifestations of sin, and having finally scrutinized its very essence, Dante, with the help of Reason, turns his back upon it and laboriously wrests himself from its attraction. That is the allegory of the long and uneventful climb from the bottom of Hell, at the earth's centre, out to the surface on the other side: it is the steady, monotonous effort by which the remorseful wrongdoer is weaned from evil practices. In this journey Dante has no light to guide him — only the encouraging murmur of the streamlet of discarded sin, flowing constantly from Purgatory,

where wickedness is washed away, down to its original Satanic source. When the practice of evil has been brought to a stop, there still remains the duty of penitentially restoring the soul to its first purity and cleansing it of all disposition to sin. This discipline is symbolized by the ascent through the torments of the mountain of Purgatory, a task performed in the light and under heavenly direction.

For Dante's conception of Cæsar, see note to IV, 123. For other portrayals of a three-faced or three-headed Satan, see: A. Graf, *Miti, leggende e superstisioni del medio evo*, II, 93; R. T. Holbrook, *Dante and the Animal Kingdom*, 74–5.

'*Vexilla Regis prodeunt inferni*
Verso di noi: però dinanzi mira,'
Disse il Maestro mio, 'se tu il discerni.'
Come quando una grossa nebbia spira
O quando l' emisperio nostro annotta, 5
Par da lungi un molin che il vento gira,
Veder mi parve un tal dificio allotta.
Poi per lo vento mi ristrinsi retro
Al Duca mio; chè non gli era altra grotta.
Già era (e con paura il metto in metro) 10
Là dove l' ombre eran tutte coperte,
E trasparean come festuca in vetro.
Altre sono a giacere; altre stanno erte,
Quella col capo, e quella con le piante;

1. Virgil derisively adapts and applies to Satan the opening lines of a hymn written in honor of the Cross by Venantius Fortunatus in the 6th century:

'Vexilla Regis prodeunt,
Fulget crucis mysterium.'

It is sung at vespers on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross and also on Monday of Holy Week.

5. *Annotta*, 'darkens.'

7. *Dificio*, 'engine.' *Dificio* (= *edifisio*) was used especially of besieging towers.

9. *Grotta* here, as usually in Dante, means 'bank.' In Tuscany the banks of a sunken road are still called *grotte*.

10. Cf. *Æn.*, II, 204: 'Horresco referens.'

Altra, com' arco, il volto a' piedi inverte. 15
Quando noi fummo fatti tanto avante
Ch' al mio Maestro piacque di mostrarmi
La creatura ch' ebbe il bel sembiante,
Dinanzi mi si tolse e fe' restarmi,
'Ecco Dite,' dicendo, 'ed ecco il loco, 20
Ove convien che di fortezza t' armi.'
Com' io divenni allor gelato e fioco,
Nol domandar, Lettor, ch' io non lo scrivo,
Però ch' ogni parlar sarebbe poco.
Io non morii, e non rimasi vivo! 25
Pensa oramai per te, s' hai fior d' ingegno,
Qual io divenni, d' uno e d' altro privo.
Lo imperador del doloroso regno
Da mezzo il petto uscia fuor della ghiaccia;
E più con un gigante io mi convegno, 30
Che i giganti non fan con le sue braccia:
Vedi oramai quant' esser dee quel tutto
Ch' a così fatta parte si confaccia.
S' ei fu sì bel com' egli è ora brutto,
E contra il suo Fattore alzò le ciglia, 35
Ben dee da lui procedere ogni lutto.
O quanto parve a me gran meraviglia

23. *Nol=non lo.*
26. *Fior*, 'a grain': cf. XXV, 144.
27. 'Bereft of both,' i. e., neither alive nor dead.
30, 31. 'I compare better with a giant than giants do with his arms.' If we assume Dante's height to have been 5½ ft., and that of a giant (like one of those in the well) to have been 80 ft., and the length of an arm to be a third of the whole height, a rough computation makes Dis more than a third of a mile in stature. It is not likely, however, that Dante intended to convey anything more than a vague impression of almost inconceivable size.
33. *Si confaccia*, 'is proportionate.'
34-36. If his beauty, as God created him, was equal to his present ugliness, his revolt against his Creator was an act of such monstrous ingratitude as to be a fitting source of all subsequent sin and sorrow.

Quando vidi tre facce alla sua testa!
L' una dinanzi, e quella era vermiglia;
L' altre eran due, che s' aggiungieno a questa 40
Sopr' esso il mezzo di ciascuna spalla,
E si giungieno al loco della cresta.
E la destra parea tra bianca e gialla;
La sinistra a vedere era tal, quali
Vengon di là onde il Nilo s' avvalla. 45
Sotto ciascuna uscivan due grandi ali
Quanto si convenia a tanto uccello;
Vele di mar non vid' io mai cotali.
Non avean penne, ma di vipistrello
Era lor modo; e quelle svolazzava 50
Sì che tre venti si movean da ello.
Quindi Cocito tutto s' aggelava.
Con sei occhi piangeva, e per tre menti
Gocciava il pianto e sanguinosa bava.
Da ogni bocca dirompea coi denti 55
Un peccatore, a guisa di maciulla,
Sì che tre ne facea così dolenti.
A quel dinanzi il mordere era nulla
Verso il graffiar, chè tal volta la schiena
Rimanea della pelle tutta brulla. 60
'Quell' anima lassù che ha maggior pena,'

40. *Aggiungieno*=*aggiungevano*.
41. *Sopr' esso* (or *sovresso*), 'just over': cf. XXIII, 54.
42. The three faces blend together at the top of the head.
45. *S' avvalla*, 'descends': the faces that come from Egypt are black.
49. *Vipistrello*=*pipistrello*.
50. *Svolazzava*, 'flapped.'
54. Cf. Virgil, *Georgics*, III, 203: 'spumas aget ore cruentas'; III, 516: 'mixtum spumis vomit ore cruorem.'
56. *Maciulla*, 'heckle': a hemp-brake, an instrument that crushes hemp-stalks and separates the fibre.
59. *Verso*, 'to': compared with.
60. *Brulla*, 'stripped': cf. XVI, 30.

Disse il Maestro, 'è Giuda Scariotto,
Che il capo ha dentro e fuor le gambe mena.
Degli altri duo ch' hanno il capo di sotto,
Quei che pende dal nero ceffo è Bruto — 65
Vedi come si storce, e non fa motto;
E l' altro è Cassio, che par sì membruto.
Ma la notte risurge; ed oramai
È da partir, chè tutto avem veduto.'
Com' a lui piacque, il collo gli avvinghiai; 70
Ed ei prese di tempo e loco poste,
E quando l' ali furo aperte assai,
Appigliò sè alle vellute coste.
Di vello in vello giù discese poscia
Tra il folto pelo e le gelate croste. 75
Quando noi fummo là dove la coscia
Si volge appunto in sul grosso dell' anche,
Lo Duca con fatica e con angoscia
Volse la testa ov' egli avea le zanche,
Ed aggrappossi al pel come uom che sale, 80

67. We do not know why Cassius is described as 'sturdy of limb.'
68. By the time of Jerusalem, it is the evening of Saturday, April 9. The poets have spent 24 hours in their downward journey. We are not told exactly how much more time is subsequently consumed in creeping down Satan's flank and up his thigh; from l. 96 it would seem to be about an hour and a half.
70. *Avvinghiai:* cf. V, 6.
71. *Prese . . . poste*, 'was on the watch.'
73. *Vellute*, 'shaggy.'
74. *Vello*, 'tuft.'
75. Between the ice and Satan's hip there is evidently a crack, through which Virgil, carrying Dante, descends like a man climbing down a ladder.
77. *Anche*, 'haunches': the place, half-way down the body, where the thigh thickens into the haunch.
79. *Zanche*, 'shanks': cf. XIX, 45. They have reached the centre of the earth, and any further movement in the same direction is no longer downward, but upward. Therefore Virgil, with Dante on his back, turns himself upside down, so as to proceed head first, and not feet first, as hitherto. In climbing a ladder, one goes down feet first, but up head first. They are now ascending toward the opposite surface of the earth, where Purgatory is.

Sì che in inferno io credea tornar anche.
'Attienti ben, chè per sì fatte scale,'
Disse il Maestro, ansando com' uom lasso,
'Conviensi dipartir da tanto male.'
Poi uscì fuor per lo foro d' un sasso, 85
E pose me in sull' orlo a sedere;
Appresso porse a me l' accorto passo.
Io levai gli occhi, e credetti vedere
Lucifero com' io l' avea lasciato,
E vidili le gambe in su tenere. 90
E s' io divenni allora travagliato,
La gente grossa il pensi, che non vede
Qual è quel punto ch' io avea passato.
'Levati su,' disse il Maestro, 'in piede!
La via è lunga e il cammino è malvagio, 95
E già il sole a mezza terza riede.'
Non era camminata di palagio
Là 'v' eravam, ma natural burella
Ch' avea mal suolo e di lume disagio.

81. *Anche*, 'again.' See XXII, 75, note.
85. Through the chink between Satan's thigh and the rocky bottom of the ice, they emerge into a cavern on the other side of the earth's centre. Virgil sets Dante on the brink of the crevice, and then 'extends to him his prudent step,' i. e., steps cautiously from the 'tufts' to the rock.
87. *Appresso*, 'then.'
90. Inasmuch as Satan traverses the centre of the earth, having his head in the Jerusalem hemisphere, and his legs in the Purgatory hemisphere, his feet, with reference to Purgatory, are pointed upward.
91. *Travagliato*, 'troubled': 'let ignorant people conceive' how disturbed I must have been.
96. *Terza*, 'tierce,' embraces the three hours following sunrise. 'Mid-tierce' is, then, about half-past seven o'clock in the morning: the term is doubtless used here in its natural, astronomical sense rather than in the special, ecclesiastical sense given to it in *Conv.*, IV, xxiii, 153. In Hell Dante computes time by the nocturnal bodies; now that Hell is left behind, he refers to the sun again.
97. *Camminata*, 'hall.'
98. *Burella*, 'dungeon.'
99. *Disagio*, 'want.'

'Prima ch' io dell' abisso mi divella, 100
  Maestro mio,' diss' io, quando fui dritto,
  'A trarmi d' erro un poco mi favella.
Ov' è la ghiaccia? e questi com' è fitto
  Sì sottosopra? e come in sì poc' ora
  Da sera a mane ha fatto il sol tragitto?' 105
Ed egli a me: 'Tu immagini ancora
  D' esser di là dal centro, ov' io mi presi
  Al pel del vermo reo che il mondo fora.
Di là fosti cotanto quant' io scesi.
  Quando mi volsi, tu passasti il punto 110
  Al qual si traggon d' ogni parte i pesi;
E se' or sotto l' emisperio giunto
  Ch' è contrapposto a quel che la gran secca
  Coperchia, e sotto il cui colmo consunto
Fu l' uom che nacque e visse senza pecca. 115
  Tu hai li piedi in su picciola spera

102. *Erro* = *errore*.

105. In reality, as Dante presently learns, the change from evening to morning is due, not to any unusual movement of the sun, but to the altered position of the observers, who have passed from one hemisphere to the other. Throughout Hell, they go by the time of Jerusalem, which is directly over the bottom. As soon as they pass the centre, they take their time from the Island of Purgatory, towards which they ascend. Jerusalem and Purgatory being on opposite sides of the earth, or 180° apart, the difference in time between them is 12 hours. Dante therefore represents himself as gaining 12 hours when he crosses the centre. He has before him a new Saturday.

108. *Fora*, 'pierces.' *Vermo* is any kind of a dragon or monster: cf. VI, 22. In the *Visio Alberici*, IX, beside the pit there is a 'vermis . . . infinitæ magnitudinis, ligatus maxima catena.'

112. *Emisperio* means here hemisphere of the sky, not of the earth. It is the celestial hemisphere which covers the terrestrial Hemisphere of Water. Opposite to it is the celestial hemisphere 'which covers the great continent (the terrestrial Hemisphere of Land) and beneath whose zenith' lies Jerusalem, where Jesus was slain. Jerusalem is exactly in the middle of the Hemisphere of Land: 'Thus said the Lord God; This is Jerusalem: I have set it in the midst of the nations and countries that are round about her' (Ezekiel v, 5).

113. *Secca*, 'dry land': 'And God called the dry land Earth'. (Gen. i, 10).

114. *Colmo*, 'summit,' i. e., zenith. Cf. XXI, 3.

116. *Spera*, 'disc': the circular block of ice and stone immediately sur-

Che l' altra faccia fa della Giudecca.
Qui è da man quando di là è sera.
E questi, che ne fe' scala col pelo,
Fitto è ancora sì come prim' era. 120
Da questa parte cadde giù dal cielo;
E la terra che pria di qua si sporse
Per paura di lui fe' del mar velo
E venne all' emisperio nostro, e forse
Per fuggir lui lasciò qui il loco voto 125
Quella che appar di qua, e su ricorse.'
Loco è laggiù da Belzebù remoto
Tanto quanto la tomba si distende,
Che non per vista, ma per suono è noto
D' un ruscelletto che quivi discende 130
Per la buca d' un sasso ch' egli ha roso
Col corso ch' egli avvolge, e poco pende.

rounding Satan. On the Hell side it is ice, the part called Giudecca: on the other side it is stone, forming the floor of the cavern into which Dante emerges. *Spera* in early Italian often meant a round mirror, glass on one side and lead on the other.

118. *Da man*, 'morning.'

121. When heaven and earth were just created, 'and the earth was without form, and void' (Gen. i, 2), sea and land were not separated. Then Satan fell, and all the land shrank away from the surface of the side where he descended, leaving a vast empty bed to be filled by the sea. Cf. Gen. i, 9–10.

122. *Si sporse*, 'extended.'

125. As Satan pierced the earth in his headlong fall, the ground which he traversed 'perhaps' fled away from him, and issued forth to form the Island of Purgatory, leaving a vacant passage from surface to centre. Cf. Isaiah xiv, 9: 'Hell from beneath is moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming.'

126. *Quella*, sc., *terra:* the land 'which appears on this side' is the lone Island of Purgatory, in the middle of the Hemisphere of Water.

127. The 'place down there' is the passage emptied by Satan's fall. As it reaches from the centre to the surface of the earth, it stretches 'as far from Beelzebub' as Hell, his 'tomb,' extends in the opposite direction. Satan is held fast in a strip of ice and rock between the cavity of Hell and this passage, the upper part of his body projecting into Hell, the lower part into the passage. Dante identifies 'Beelzebub the prince of the devils' (Mat. xii, 24) with Lucifer; they were sometimes regarded as different demons.

132. *Poco pende:* it is not very steep..

Lo Duca ed io per quel cammino ascoso
  Entrammo a ritornar nel chiaro mondo:
  E senza cura aver d' alcun riposo 135
Salimmo suso, ei primo ed io secondo,
  Tanto ch' io vidi delle cose belle
  Che porta il ciel, per un pertugio tondo,
E quindi uscimmo a riveder le stelle.

136. The descent through Hell occupied Friday night and Saturday; the climb from the centre of the earth to the other side lasts through the second Saturday and the following night. The poets emerge on the Island of Purgatory before daybreak on the morning of Easter Sunday.

139. Each of the three great divisions of the poem ends with the sweet and hopeful word *stelle*.